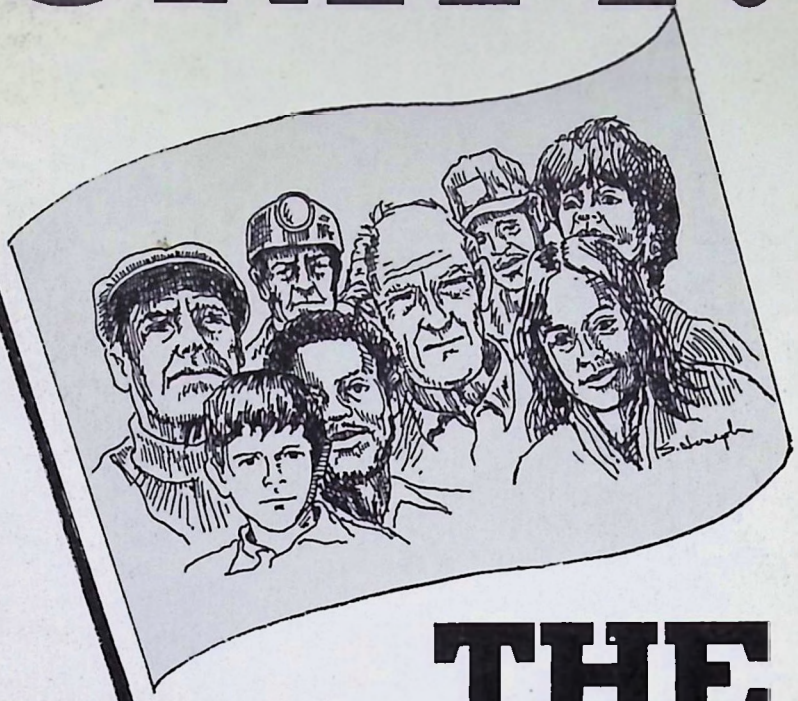
UNITY!



THE ONLY WAY

by GUS HALL

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Main report
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1. HOME IS CHICAGO!

WELCOME, DEAR COMRADES, DELEGATES AND GUESTS TO the 24th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA.

We want to extend a special fraternal welcome to our honored guests from so many other lands who are here with us today. Your presence at our convention is special because as a Communist Party in the hub of world imperialism we place great value on such expressions of international solidarity.

Our Party has a long history of leadership and struggle in the workingclass, industrial centers of our great country, including Chicago. But Chicago is unique because we are coming home when we come back to Chicago. This is where our Party was born. It was here, in the rough, grubby soil and fire of the class struggle, that the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist character of our Party was indelibly stamped and firmly fixed.

Chicago is also where the U.S. basic industrial working class had its genesis. It was here in the mass production industries of Chicago that the concept of industrial trade unionism had its beginnings. Chicago is the birthplace of May Day and the city of the Haymarket battle.

THE NEW CHICAGO

So it is always great to come home to Chicago. But it is even nicer to return to the new Chicago. For this, our 24th National Convention, we return to a Chicago

with new politics, new people's politics rooted in grassroots power and based on the unity of the working class, the Afro-American, Mexican American, Puerto Rican and American Indian peoples, women, youth and the middle class of Chicago.

As if to welcome us back to Chicago, the City Council recently passed three splendid resolutions.

- A resolution opposing the Supreme Court nomination of the strict destructionist, Robert Bork;
- A resolution commending Senator Inouye for denouncing North and "standing up for the principles of democracy;" and
- A resolution honoring Rudy Lozano, who was gunned down by thugs because he challenged the corrupt Daley machine and supported Harold Washington for Mayor.

Since it took office the Washington administration can claim some precedent-setting accomplishments. For example:

- The recognition of unions and collective bargaining rights for 20,000 city workers;
- Upgrading and "equal pay for equal work" opportunities for women;
- A policy that all city-used materials must have a union label;
- Establishing a union print shop for all city jobs;
- Passing an executive order that bars the Immigation and Naturalization Service from raids and harassment in Chicago;
- Establishing a Chicago Commission on Human Relations to investigate cases of discrimination;
- Passing a Tenants' Bill of Rights and a new Voting Rights Act;
- Passing a City Council Resolution to put on the ballot a referendum for a nuclear test ban and to make Chicago a nuclear free zone.

These actions symbolize and embody the progres-

sive, people's politics and fighting spirit that is the new Chicago.

We can be very proud of the contributions Communists have made to trade unions and to the class struggles in the Windy City. Starting with William Z. Foster, there is an unbroken chain that laid the foundation for the politics of the new Chicago. The politics of the new Chicago draws on the residue of a hundred years of class struggle.

But Chicago, like most of our industrial centers, is a city in deep crisis — a crisis of plant closings, of homelessness and joblessness. It is a city afflicted with a crisis of housing, public education, health care. It is a city suffering from the effects of racism and discrimination. It is a city filled with youth poverty and the poverty of the elderly.

In President Hoover's day the jobless sold apples on the streetcorner. Today, as you have seen, in Chicago the jobless sell newspapers. Like everywhere else, the people of Chicago are also overtaxed, overcharged, overworked and underpaid.

Chicago is a city of new politics, of new hope and higher expectations. But it is still saddled with and suffering from the old economic problems of a decaying capitalist system. Dialectically speaking, the old saying, "you can't go home again," is both true and not true. We can't go home to the old Chicago, but it's nice to be able to come home to the new Chicago.

ABOUT THIS REPORT

A few words about this report. We have just completed a very intense and fruitful pre-convention discussion period in which our resolutions were studied, discussed and written about.

Over 200 contributions were received and a representative selection were published. District conventions were held throughout the country in which not

only the national resolutions, but also district assessments were discussed and plans made for participation at this convention and after.

In this report I have attempted to encompass the main line of all the resolutions as well as integrate the collective discussions and the new thinking expressed on the club and district levels. In a sense, this report is an updating of the Party's draft resolutions that were written some six months ago.

This report, when adopted, should then become the line and policy of our Party for the coming period.

As you can see from the agenda, the structure of the convention will include five workshops and eighteen commissions, more than we have ever had before. These workshops and commissions have been designed to take up concrete experiences and problems reflecting the mass struggles in these areas. The workshops and some of the panels will be reported back to the convention. However, all the conclusions from the commissions will be incorporated into the post-convention materials.

For this reason, my report will deal with very few of the many important concrete developments and mass movements. This makes it possible for me to deal more with the general and basic concepts of theory, ideology, strategy and tactics.

I also want to preface the report with a few words about a theme that will run throughout.

Unity has always been the basic source of power for the movements and struggles of the people. In today's world unity has become absolutely decisive.

To the extent people see their mutual interests represented by a movement, there will be all-people's unity. To the extent workers see their class interests in the class struggle, there will be class unity. Unity is a logical extension of the oneness of our multiracial,

multinational, male-female, younger and older working class.

But unity does not come spontaneously.

Objective developments and conditions mold and create the need not only for unity in general, but the specific form and content that is in harmony with the new developments.

The objective developments of today call for a re-evaluation and a projection of new concepts of unity on all levels and in all areas because these developments are creating conditions in which the self-interests of the people's majorities are coming together. There is:

- a peace majority;
- an anti-racist, pro-democratic majority;
- an anti-monopoly majority;
- an anti-imperialist majority;
- an anti-apartheid majority;
- an anti-contra majority; and,
- an anti-Reagan majority.

The mutual self-interests of the people's majorities are creating the conditions for unity of the majorities. The changing thought patterns that reflect changing objective developments all require broader forms and concepts of unity.

Therefore, new concepts of unity must be more flexible, more sweeping and less dogmatic. The symbol of unity must be the outstretched hand. The struggle for unity must be the main ingredient of our tactical and strategic concepts. These new concepts of unity are not only possible, but absolutely necessary.

In this report I have tried to place all questions in the framework of the struggle for new concepts of unity — all-people's unity, Left unity, and the concept of the united workingclass front.

2. THE EVER-CHANGING WORLD SCENCE

EVERYTHING IN THIS WORLD OF OURS KEEPS GETTING more complicated, more contradictory, but also more intertwined, interdependent and immensely more interesting and exciting.

The forces of convergence and divergence operate in a dialectical, reciprocal unity of internal contradictions. Not only is life presenting new phenomena at greater speeds, but that which is new is ever more qualitatively new. This is true of everything, including the science of computers, microchips, superconductors, high tech production lines and genetic engineering.

For us, of course, most important is the fact that so many of life's social, economic, political and ideological processes move at greater speeds and thus are continually new — quantitatively and qualitatively. In fact, it seems that the world and domestic events are speeding at 100 rpm's — that is, 100 revolutions per minute!

In such quick-changing times as ours the human response tends to lag behind, tends to be too little and too late. Thus, one of the overall challenges for all movements, including our Party, is to cut down on our response time. When people's movements and workingclass struggles have to keep trying to make up for lost time they remain inevitably on the defensive.

Tailing events makes it possible only to record

and interpret history. The point, however, is to influence and shape history.

In today's world we cannot limit our observations and assessments to the domestic scene. The nuclear arms race threatens all nations and all peoples. Air, water and soil pollution cross all borders. Acid rain falls on every continent. Cancer, heart attacks and AIDS do not respect national boundaries or color of skin. No country alone can explore and develop the uses of outer space.

In today's world no people can be an island unto themselves.

The $300 billion dollar fare for the ride to Mars should be shared by many nations. The fusion of atoms and the invention of materials for superconductivity should be international projects, projects created for the good of humanity worldwide.

This new world now has the scientific and technological know-how to feed every mouth, clothe everybody, house every family, provide medical care for all, take care of all the elderly and provide jobs for every young man and woman.

This new, united world needs new thought patterns. It calls for new tactics and strategic concepts. This new oneness calls for new patterns of unity, new patterns of organization, new patterns of struggle.

We are now at the crossroads of a once-in-a-lifetime choice between two opposites: a war without winners, or a peace without losers.

It is in this overall framework that we must deal with the problems in "our neck of the woods."

CAPITALIST WORLD ON THE DOWNSLIDE

The accelerated pace of world events has a greater impact on developments in the United States than any other nation. Increasingly, those which characterize

our state of affairs are the negatives. And it is precisely because the negatives keep piling up that we have to more boldly respond to these qualitative changes that keep appearing on the scene.

The United States has slipped from being the biggest creditor nation to a nation owing more money than the next three biggest debtor nations put together. The U.S economy gorges itself on some $265 billion dollars of foreign cash that comes in every year — a huge debt that has to be repaid, with interest.

The U.S. economy is increasingly dependent on external stimulants. The largest of these pump-priming stimulants is the trillion dollar military pep pill. Arms production has replaced civilian capital goods production as the main locomotive of the U.S. economy. Orders for military goods are now 25 percent of the total.

Thus, the economy has become extremely dependent upon external stimulants. It has become what one could call "military Keynesian pump priming economics." But these external "uppers" have reached a point where they are losing their effectiveness and we are now beginning to see some of the economic withdrawal symptoms. We are entering a period when the negative impact of military spending on the economy is beginning to dominate. Among other things, military production is greatly exacerbating the structural crisis. It is beginning to undermine mass purchasing power and hence to dominate markets rather than stimulate them.

The shrinking of consumer markets is beginning to show up in a downtrend in the housing and automotive markets, which usually signals an oncoming cyclical crisis.

The U.S. ship of state has accumulated a two-and-a-half trillion dollar barnacle, a federal government debt that grows at the rate of $260 billion per year. And

remember — barnacles have been known to sink big ships.

The Reagan administration has pushed up the balance of trade deficit from $28 billion to nearly $200 billion per year. And the U.S. piece of the capitalist world pie keeps getting smaller. The U.S. share of capitalist world exports and services has declined from a high of 25 percent to 14 percent.

U.S. domestic economic developments are more and more interwoven with the economies of the other big capitalist and developing countries.

Twenty-five percent of the total value of U.S. products and services, and 40 percent of our farm products are exported. This is creating new contradictions because in the arena of imports and exports the United States has to compete with Japan, whose total economic expansion is based on exports, and with Western European countries, whose economies stay above water by exporting 35 percent of their total production. This week, West Germany passed the United States as the biggest exporting country.

Much of the foreign cash comes into the U.S. in the form of investments. Foreign investments have now reached the $240 billion dollar level and are still going up. Four of the top ten U.S. chemical corporations are foreign-owned. Almost 50 percent of the automobiles made in the United States are manufactured by foreign-owned corporations.

In years past, along with the Japanese cherry trees also came the Japanese beetles. So too with imports. Along with Japanese joint venture auto plants came new systems of speedup, a higher rate of exploitation and new forms of class collaboration which are being promoted by U.S. monopoly capital as the "new way to go" for U.S. unions and workers.

Generally, the United States is paddling against the stream of capitalist contradictions. The other two

centers of world capitalism, Japan and Western Europe, have been increasing their take from a well in which the water level keeps getting lower.

There is a general slowdown in the growth rates of all major capitalist countries, while the structural crisis is digging a deeper hole for most of them. These developments sharpen the inter-imperialist contradictions and rivalries.

The recent Venice so-called Economic Summit of the major capitalist countries was a replica of the real world situation. It lived up to its billing: no agenda, no disagreements, no agreements, no communique, no results, no one dominated, no one took the lead, no one had solutions and no one, except for Mrs. Thatcher, took advantage of the photo opportunities with Reagan.

As former President Carter put it, "The capitalist world suffers from a malaise." It is a capitalist world malaise that reflects the general crisis of capitalism and the narrowing down of available options.

EMERGING THIRD WORLD

The Third World sector has emerged as an important component of the world picture. While Third World countries are not a monolithic group and are not all moving in the same direction, they are an increasing influence on world developments.

Neocolonial structures and relationships are going through a metamorphosis. The changes are related to advances achieved in gaining political independence while remaining economically and financially dependent.

The increasing export of high tech mass production industries and finance capital to these low-wage, non-union Third World countries has created the basis for new imperialist superprofits. But this has also given

rise to a new political force, a new Third World working class in countries like South Korea, Haiti, Panama, South Africa and the Philippines. In countries like these the class divisions are sharpening and the class struggle is becoming intertwined with the struggles against military dictatorship and the multinational corporations.

Besides the profits from low wages and high tech industries, imperialism gorges itself on $200 billion-dollar interest payments on the trillion-dollar debt that keeps growing. Altogether the imperialist bloodsuckers take $300 billion a year from the Third World.

The imperialist, mainly U.S. banks, have moved in for the kill. In 1970, the banks' share of the total "development aid" to the developing countries was 7 percent. Now the banks' share is 60 percent. While the banks and multinational corporations continue to milk $300 billion per year, it is estimated that in another two years there will be one billion unemployed people in these countries.

Slowly, the world is beginning to conclude that the Third World countries can not and should not pay the trillion-dollar debt. The immediate question is the interest payments on the loans. But as long as the developing countries have to borrow more money in order to just be able to make the interest payments they will keep sinking deeper into the imperialist bottomless profit pit.

It is in the interest of the U.S. workers and people as a whole to support the developing countries in their attempts to cut off all past loans as well as the interest payments, and in their justified demands for development aid without economic or political strings of any kind.

These are some of the immediate and more important developments in the capitalist sector of the world.

SOCIALIST WORLD ON THE UPSWING

On the other, opposite side of the socioeconomic world, the socialist sector is on the upswing. There is growth, renewal, accelerated restructuring and excitment about it all. Contrary to capitalism, where the options are contracting, socialism can resolve its contradictions because the options for socialism are inherently expanding.

In this 70th year of building socialism, the Soviet Union is in the midst of a major overhaul, a remodeling. The Soviet people are restructuring and reorganizing so that the building of socialism can move into a higher gear.

They are dropping all that which has become outmoded. They are correcting that which does not harmonize with the present and future levels of socialism. They are replacing some of the old with some new structures and systems. They are eliminating that which has given rise to contradictions and obstacles.

They are taking important qualitative steps in the process of turning over the political and economic decision making process directly to the people. They are reorganizing the system of material incentives so it does away with any and all conflicts between the interests of the individual and the interests of society. They are putting the factories and farms on a pay-as-you-go system.

They are fine tuning the structure to more accurately comply with the principle of socialism, "from each according to his or her ability, to each according to his or her work."

They are updating and upgrading the democratic side of the system so that it corresponds with the socialist reality that everything belongs to the people. They are codifying the people's power —balancing rights and privileges with accountability and responsi-

bility. They are decentralizing the production process so that all the small and most of the big decisions will be made on the spot.

They are eliminating all freeloaders and deadwood, on all levels. They are cutting back on personnel in the non-productive bureaucratic structure. They are creating an atmosphere of openness that welcomes discussion and debate, on all questions.

They are making socialism work better.

As was to be expected, these new dynamic processes in the Soviet Union have given rise to a new, special kind of anti-Sovietism in the United States.

The anti-Sovieteers continue to play both sides of the street. On the one side they say the process taking place is proof positive that socialism does not work, never has and never will. On the other, they say the Soviet Union is adopting capitalist ways.

Pushing this line, a *New York Times* editorial gives the lead: "Yet another Communist giant sets out to undo the revolution of 1917 with the revolution of 1987." Of course, what the Soviets are doing is continuing the revolution of 1917.

This anti-Soviet campaign is based on distortions, exaggerations and outright lies. The fact that some malcontents in the Soviet Union feed the U.S. propagandists anti-socialist stories does not make them true.

MORE SOCIALISM, NOT LESS

The new and broadening base of workingclass power and authority — including cost accounting and the turning of full direct responsibility for the operation of industrial plants over to workers — is more socialism, not less.

It is capitalism that fights against workers having anything to say about the running of industrial plants. Under socialism, the workers, as workers, negotiate with themselves as the owners. The worker is both

boss and worker. The socialist worker is the product of economic, political and ideological engineering.

The expansion of democratic people's control and with it authority over the decision making process, is more socialism, not less. It is capitalism that conspires to reduce democratic expression in all areas of life.

The capitalist class and its bootlicking mass media play games with the word "profits." Profits derived from the exploitation of workers and taken by the corporate rich under capitalism are unjust and evil. There is no way to defend or justify capitalist exploitation and oppression in human terms. It is robbery, pure and simple.

However, on the other hand, if the profits or the value that is produced over and above the cost of production is turned back to the plant to be used for new equipment or for material incentives for higher wages for good work, as happens under socialism, then profits has a basically opposite meaning. One is corporate private profits / corporate thievery. The other is people's public profits. One is just, the other, unjust.

Typical of the new anti-Soviet campaign was the recent so-called CBS documentary produced from the evil-intentioned visit of hack journalists to the Soviet Union. The two-hour travesty was not about the Soviet Union. It consisted of — a five-minute scene with one drug addict, including three minutes focused on a scar on his arm, another five minute scene with an alcoholic, another three minutes on liquor store lines, two minutes about one mental case on the street, five minutes on one jail and one prison guard.

Then the focus turned to some young bodybuilders and three outrageous members of a punk rock band, the usual elderly ladies sweeping streets and some interviews with malcontents, including one very much alive editor who claimed, "I take my life in my hands every time I put this magazine out." That's Glasnost

CBS style! This was the two-hour show after ten TV crews and five journalists spent ten days taping and interviewing in the Soviet Union. It is obvious that the editors expunged anything that remotely resembled life in the Soviet Union. What they left was an anti-Soviet, anti-socialist diatribe that was hailed as "objective reporting."

Another example — recently a lady returned from the Soviet Union; she called the op-ed page of the *New York Times* and offered an article. The editor asked, "Is it anti-Soviet or pro?" She said, "It is only the truth as I saw it." "In that case, we are not interested," said the editor.

What the Rightwing forces fear most about the developments in the Soviet Union is that the new stage of socialism will be a greater attractive force to the workers and peoples the world over. They tremble at the growing support the Soviet Union is enjoying for its current leadership in the struggle to end the nuclear arms race.

GLASNOST VS. "CLOSENOST"

The overt "evil empire" campaign, is not working. So the anti-Sovieteers have conjured up a flank attack. The CIA, for example, has called on its ideological department to spend millions producing a new study to find out why the people of West Germany, France Great Britain and other European countries in public opinion polls say Mikhail Gorbachev is a peacemaker and Ronald Reagan is a warmonger.

The real aim of the study is not to discover why people feel this way, but how to reverse this sentiment. The covert operations and the secret government increasingly being exposed shows that while the Soviet Union has glasnost, the United States increasingly suffers from "closenost."

Increasingly, the relationships between the

United States and the rest of the world are in serious disarray. More and more the United States is seen as a pit bull terrier that has lost its teeth. For example, in the Persian Gulf the United States is becoming more and more isolated.

Supporting and relying on counterrevolutionary thugs, steeped in corruption and payoffs, CIA swindlers involved in illegal arms, drug running and assassinations have branded U.S. imperialism as a criminal outlaw.

Just how concerned the ruling class circles are is shown in a recent column by Jeanne Kirkpatrick in which she quotes from newspapers and magazines about the declining U.S. status worldwide.

Paraphrasing different sources, she laments, "Soviet credibility is growing as American credibility declines." Then she continues, "The U.S. is described as a dangerous and aggressive player in international politics, as double dealers, who cannot be trusted."

In another quotation she reports, "The U.S. is described as hypocritical and duplicitous, as a base, self-seeking society in full moral decline."

On the struggle for world peace, Kirkpatrick quotes another magazine, "But the Soviet Union is leading the way due to its blessed lack of monopoly capitalist and war mongering cliques."

We know Jeanne Kirkpatrick would not quote Communist sources, so we have to accept her word — these are all quotes from the capitalist press in Europe and Great Britain, and, incidentally, all published before the Iran-contragate hearings got started.

Of course the real answer to the popularity question is to put an end to the nuclear arms race, sign an agreement with the Soviet Union, end the policy of aggression against Nicaragua, and then maybe it would be possible for Reagan to jump a point or two in the international polls.

3. PRESERVE HUMANITY, END THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD are concerned about the outbreak of a nuclear war. Most now agree it would be the end of all living and growing things on this planet.

The people of the United States are part of this world peace majority. That is how they voted in the last Congressional elections.

The Soviet Union has taken the lead in the struggle to end the world-threatening nuclear arms race. Their concrete acts and bold proposals have pushed the war hawks into a tight corner. The Reagan Administration has been forced to retreat on some questions.

As a result, the possibility of agreements on the elimination of short- and medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe, as well as a 50 percent reduction in long-range strategic weapons and confining Star Wars to the research laboratory, are now at a critical juncture. These could be important steps towards total scrapping of all nuclear weapons.

CAUTION: HAVE NO ILLUSIONS

However, these positive developments should not lead to wrong conclusions. We should caution against illusions that lead to inaction or pacifism.

It is true, the Soviet Union is a powerful force for peace. It has taken the initiative. It will continue to be in the forefront of the struggle to free the world from the nuclear nightmare.

But it is a serious mistake to sit on the sidelines and watch. There should be no illusions. There is not now,

nor was there ever any basic change in the outlook and aim of U.S. imperialism.

Since World War II, U.S. policy has been to dominate as much of the world as possible —economically, militarily, ideologically, politically and financially. This is the perpetual dream of "The American Century." This was the underlying rationale for dropping the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This was the reason for the construction of 500 overseas, mostly nuclear, missile bases around the world.

Instead of reducing these numbers, the Reagan Administration is building more. The all-out drive to build weapons of first strike nuclear superiority is the nuclearization of the U.S. policy of world domination.

Star Wars is not a change in policy from an offensive to a defensive one. The Star Wars program is a continuation and integral part of the policy of nuclear aggression. The aim is to develop new anti-missile systems and build weapons of first strike nuclear superiority.

The ABM treaty, signed and ratified, definitely bans testing space weapons and placing them into orbit. To this point, however, Reagan has rejected the Soviet proposal even to negotiate on what ABM technology tests are allowed under this American-Soviet treaty.

The Pentagon generals and Casper Weinberger are insisting on the so-called broad interpretation that would literally wipe out all restrictions now contained in the treaty. Any idea that the building of weapons of nuclear superiority and the Star Wars program are not in support of and a continuation of the U.S. policy of imperialist aggression is at best misleading.

In fact, because of such ideas, some in the peace movement have moved from placing the blame both on the United States and the Soviet Union to a pacifist position that asserts no one is to blame. This position

is often expressed by omission, by failing to place any blame on the real culprits, the war hawks in the Reagan administration.

LULLED INTO PACIFISM

This has lulled some peace forces into thinking that a passive pacifism that calls for general appeals to the non-existent humanist side of capitalism, its good common sense and its self interest, will work.

This is a futile, self-defeating position that seeks a "new philosophy" that will supposedly overcome the irreconcilable main class contradiction, including the contradiction between the two opposing world social systems.

Others dream about some new ways to "end the traditional confrontationist" element in world relations. But imperialism does not respond to abstract humanistic appeals.

There is nothing wrong in searching for new ways, new arguments for world peace. But when the search for the new ignores the unchanging reality of the basic, inherent nature of world imperialism illusions are created. When the new is presented without the element of struggle it leads to inaction, to immobilization, to pacifism.

In order to activate the peace forces and for them to be effective, it is necessary to expose the fact that the drive for nuclear superiority, including the Star Wars projects, is related to and is an integral part of the policies of U.S. imperialism.

It is necessary to expose the fact that U.S. imperialism still strives for the realization of its dream of the "American Century." And what it cannot achieve diplomatically, politically, financially and economically, it has plans to achieve through nuclear superiority. This continues to be a hard fact of reality.

U.S. imperialism continues to lay claim to parts of

the five continents and five oceans as vital to the national interests of the United States. When the Reagan administration sends warships and warplanes to the Persian Gulf, it is called "keeping the sea lanes open." But when the Soviet Union sends two ships into the same region, it is labeled "Soviet aggression" and "attempts to claim it for a Soviet sphere of influence."

NEW THOUGHT PATTERNS

There are some new modes of thinking in the grassroots and even in some corporate circles. There is a growing concern about the future of human existence.

The fact that there are 137 Nuclear Free Zones in the United States — the largest legally binding one is Cook County, Illinois, with 5 million people — and at least 150 cities, including many of the largest ones, that have now passed nuclear test ban resolutions, testifies to the new thought patterns. An indication of the breadth of the peace sentiment is that there are 431 peace organizations in the state of Ohio alone.

This is a very important development. It provides a broad mass base for the mobilization of the majority in the struggle for world peace. It is the basis for a new kind of unity — unity in struggle.

I hate to admit it, but once in a great while some light penetrates even those thick walls of the editorial offices of the *New York Times.* A recent lead editorial was such a case in point. The heading read, "Kicking the Cold War Habit:"

> After 40 years of cold war, the United States now has a basis for thinking anew about policy toward the Soviet Union. . . .
>
> Changed circumstances call for addressing those worries more constructively, with less emphasis on arms and more on diplomacy and cooperation.

> President Reagan can leave no greater legacy than to take account of the new realities in East-West relations and put forward new guidelines for managing the transition from cold war to cold peace and peaceful competition. . . .
>
> American resources are stretched, and beyond doubt, the Pentagon budget will be cut. The nation's educational system, the needs of the young and the old, cry out for funds. Economic deficits must be closed. There can be no American national security, in the profoundest meaning of that term, without meeting these needs as well as military ones.

Further, the *Times* editorial says, "Yet there are important common and parallel interests [between the U.S. and Soviet Union], which also demand attention. Telling these truths will be less exciting than spinning dreams or spitting insults, but far more helpful to steady policy."

Then it goes on, "Keep arms control at the top of the negotiating agenda. Limiting arms is not a substitute for policy, but it is the lead element. . . . Don't link regional conflicts with other issues. . . . Recognize growing common interests. . . . Look forward to basic changes in the relationship only over the long haul. . . . It will take strong leadership to disenthrall both sides of the fear and mistrust that have grown up over the years." Who knows — maybe there is some "new mode of thinking" here!

But the new mode of thinking has not yet reached the decision-making, inner-circles of monopoly capital, certainly not to the extent that they have given up their drive to dominate the world.

The changing balance of world forces, and the American people's opposition to U.S. imperialist and interventionist policies, have forced the Reagan ad-

ministration to maneuver and retreat in some specific areas. This is very important. The tactics of the people's struggles must be based on understanding this.

Thus, it is important to see both the nature of the basic, unchanged policy of U.S. imperialist aggression and the new posssibilities to force U.S. imperialism to retreat. It is also important to understand that even contemplating the idea of retreat is not easily accepted in the ranks of monopoly capital. The natural instinct of corporate heads is the drive for maximum profits and supporting preparations for war and acts of imperialist aggression.

UNITY OF PEACE MAJORITY

Today there is an ever-closer relationship between socialism and world peace. Socialism has become the key force in the maintenance of world peace. The great majority of humanity is for world peace.

As with everything else, the struggle for peace does not take place in a *status quo* world. The progressive forces and especially the forces of socialism do not accept the *status quo* world. The class struggle goes on. Nations and peoples continue to mobilize and fight for their rightful place in the sun. And when they conclude that they cannot achieve their just goals peacefully, they fight for their inalienable rights by other means. As the old saying goes, "that's life."

Thus, it is not abstract forces or concepts, or even appeals, that move mountains. What molds these forces into an irresistible force for progress is unity in struggle — organization, mobilization and action.

This is another arena where the unity of the majority in struggle can determine the course of history.

4. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL CRISIS

THE IRAN-CONTRAGATE HEARINGS HAVE UNCOVERED A termite-infested corrosion and disintegration of the very foundations of the constitutional democratic structure of our country.

The exposes have unmasked high treason in high places. They have revealed a conspiratorial web, spun and led by high government officials and all sanctioned by "Presidential findings." The "Presidential shield" was a shield for criminal conspirators.

The crisis of democracy and the Constitution have deep roots in the general decaying crisis of U.S. capitalism. The personalities involved are important, but in a more basic sense it is not the individuals that corrupt the system, it is the system that corrupts and spawns degenerate, double-dealing political swindlers. The system provides unlimited opportunities for thievery and corruption.

Even though the conspiracy has been exposed, we must not overlook the extent to which it succeeded. For that which gave rise to the present crisis will give rise to others.

Part of the reason for its success is the fact that the National Security Council and the CIA fit into a police state structure. They were originally set up to operate beyond any democratic controls. They were set up so they can bypass and in the process take over, the functions of the U.S. Congress and the Cabinet. They are covert mainly because theirs are the kind of indefensible illegal activities that have to be kept secret from Congress and above all from the American people.

From the beginning they have been instruments of the cold war. They are the control center and staff for the forces of counterrevolution worldwide. The CIA was set up as a clandestine, paramilitary, ideological, political unit of mercenary commandos, a secret army of the executive branch. It is a rogue outfit carrying out the policies of a rogue government, and behind it all are the rogue imperialist corporations.

In a sense, the White House conspiracy was a military takeover. Most of the operatives either are or were officers in the Marines. Even George Schultz admitted they were conducting a "guerilla war" against anyone who opposed them.

The CIA operatives were able to establish a junta that put together a secret mini-government, with private and government money, that made foreign policy decisions. They were involved in the business of gun and drug running, bombings and assassinations and overthrowing democratically elected governments.

As Poindexter brazenly admitted, they lied to the President, to the Congress, to the American people, even to members of the Cabinet, because they did not want any "outside interference." They were the insiders and the American people became the outsiders.

Under Nixon these same forces established a network of prison concentration camps and drew up a plan for mass detention without trial. The Reagan-Casey junta took this idea further. While Reagan and the secret junta were condemning martial law in Poland, they were putting the finishing touches on a contingency plan for martial law in the United States in case of a "national emergency."

This secret Casey-North-Poindexter plan called for: suspension of the Constitution; turning control of the government over to the Federal Emergency Management Agency; appointment of military commanders to run state and local governments and the declaration of

martial law in the event of widespread internal dissent or national opposition to a U.S. military invasion abroad.

The plan is on the boards but parts are already being implemented. For example, preventive detention, jail without bail, is now the law of the land. The takeover and destruction of the air controllers' union and the plans for government takeover of the teamsters union are very much in keeping with the "contingency plans."

This contingency plan for martial law together with the uncovering of the Kirkpatrick-Poindexter-North handbook for covert aggression all over the world draws a rather frightening picture of the vision of a U.S. future the fascist fringe is working for.

Reagan, Buchanan, McFarlane, Poindexter, North, Deaver and Nofsiger are not loose cannons on the deck of the ship of state. They are coldblooded henchmen of monopoly capital. They are important cogs in the hub of reaction. But much more significant is the police state structure they were building in the basement of the White House and the "Gestapo mentality" — the fascist ideology — that sustains them.

EXPOSE THE ROOTS

The most crucial question in the Iran-contragate crisis is that it is monopoly capital that gives rise to and sustains this cancerous growth — the creeping growth of a police state structure in the very heart of the democratic governmental edifice. They shape and finance the police state structure to rule and to serve their aim of maximum corporate profits. This is where the main roots of Iran-contragate are.

In 1973, after the Watergate expose, we said, "If the roots of Watergate are not exposed and cut, there will be new Watergates." So we welcome all the exposes, the Senate and Congressional hearings. We join

with all forces that have been propelled into action as a result of the exposes. But we cannot limit ourselves to the surface manifestations. We are for the whole truth, without limitations, because the interests of the people can best be served only by a full exposure of the roots and the processes that lead to Watergates and Iran-contragates.

The Iran-contragate hearings were limited. There was a coverup of the President and the real essence of the crimes. Above all else, they wanted to cover up the fact that it is monopoly state capitalism that gives rise to the Iran-contragates.

The mass media and most politicians want to cover up the fact that there has been a creeping buildup of a police state structure and a mentality to match. They want to cover up the fact that it is anti-communism that is the mask the conspirators use to hide their deception. They want to hide these facts because the exposure would bring out into the light their own use of big lie anti-communism.

They want to protect the two old parties and the two party system of monopoly capitalism. They talk about saving the presidency, but it is nothing more than a coverup for Reagan.

But with all their weaknesses and the shallow, slanted reporting by the mass media, especially by TV networks, the hearings have had a positive effect. They have brought to the surface a deep concern for democracy and militant expressions in defense of the Constitution.

At first there was a kneejerk response to North's flagwaving, pseudo-patriotic performances. But it soon dissipated. The view of the great majority now is that the conspiracy was a serious threat to the democratic structure of our government. These are the deeper second thoughts of the people. These new concerns cross class and Party lines.

The challenge is to find the forms for an all-people's unity in defense of the Constitution and the democratic structure. It is necessary to expose the links between state monopoly capitalism and these police state developments. We must sharply focus on the fact that it is a class structure resulting from the class policies of monopoly capitalism.

U.S. PATH TO FASCISM

What has become clearer are the outlines of a unique U.S. pattern, a unique U.S. structure and path for fascism. This unique pattern consists of a creeping process of constructing a government within a government — a police state structure within a parliamentary structure.

This process has been one of creeping transition of the functions of government from the elected bodies to the corporate-like, police state structure under the shield of the executive branch.

We have paid attention to the politicians, but we have not paid enough attention to the structure of the creeping police state development. We have raised the danger of the ultra-Right and its policies. But we have not warned enough about fascist-like structures and creeping fascist ideas, changes that have set the stage for a police state takeover.

Monopoly state capitalism is a conglomerate of capitalism in crisis. The buildup of the police state structure is a feature of this crisis. It is an attempt to overcome this crisis by way of eliminating the democratic structure. The creeping transition to a corporate police state structure is fed by the same laws that feed the development of monopoly state capitalism.

The police state structure grows to serve its needs. It is staffed directly by corporate interests. The executive branch of the government is now run, and has been for years, by corporate executives on short,

"blind trust" sabbatical leaves from their corporations.

As it has assumed greater powers, more and more this has become the basic nature of the executive branch. It is dominated by big corporate executives and by top military brass. Reagan has never stopped serving General Electric.

All the members of the Reagan Cabinet, all the heads of departments, all those in executive positions in the Pentagon, all the key personnel in the State Department are on leave from the big corporations. They still get paid by their corporate bosses, mainly under the table. They go on the government payroll, but they never stop working for the corporations they come from and where they will go back to. They are corporate fifth column insiders — inside the government.

In this setup the executive branch has become the direct, active participant in state monopoly capitalism. It deals directly with the corporations and their executive branches. This makes the corporate and state relationships direct. This provides the close-knit setup for the operation of state monopoly capitalism.

In order to carry on these new tasks that have been assumed by the state, the president and the executive branch maneuver for more and more authority. This setup needs increasingly more secrecy and more and more it becomes a power unto itself.

The Iran-contragate Reagan Administration has become just that kind of a power. The executive and its henchmen are zealots who do not think twice about abusing power, breaking laws, bypassing Congress and members of the Cabinet and of course the people.

The executive branch has taken on the power to make war. The illegal wars conducted by contras all over the world, led and fed by the CIA, are a direct violation of the Constitution, and they violate the War Powers Act. The executive branch directs open and secret paramilitary operations. It supports, trains and

funds counterrevolutionary forces around the world. It directly controls huge military budgets.

It would be an error to attribute this development to Reagan alone, because there is no question that in this past period it was sectors and circles of monopoly capital that decided to support moves in the direction of police state power. It was monopoly capital that decided to draw up contingency plans and to push for a qualitative shift — a qualitative change in the forms of class rule. This is the crux of the whole development.

The decision to shift onto the path of secret, police state rule was made by some of the most powerful monopoly capital circles, by the military monopolies. What makes it even more serious is that this decision was supported by other sections of monopoly capital.

Reagan's lame duck plans are to give this process a further qualitative shift, especially through his Supreme Court appointments. Rehnquist and Bork are nominations of the White House junta.

For some time we have had a creeping process, a gradual growth of a police state corporate structure within the old constitutional structure. It became a "contingency structure" that could support a dictatorial takeover at some later date.

We must do more probing in the area of the relationship between monopoly state capital and the ultra-Right network. We must study in greater depth the growth of a government within a government. We must do more digging into the dialectics of the overall effects of the crisis of capitalism and its effects on the superstructure, on the forms of class rule.

We must probe deeper the specific pattern and path of Iran-contragate. It is important to understand that the creeping process of building a governmental police state structure within the democratic structure is dictated by the unique U.S. reality. The process was camouflaged because there is no specific mass move-

ment or support for such a process. Monopoly capital gives its support to this process because it provides an immediate form, a channel to carry out its policies.

It must be clearly understood that the inherent danger was not only in the rise of the structure but also in the creeping transference of state power from the elected bodies to the White House junta. This was a process within a monopoly-controlled bourgeois government. It was possible because the whole government structure is in the iron grip of the monopoly corporations.

The more reactionary, militaristic and anti-democratic elements include the military monopolies. They are in a sense an extension of the Pentagon, and the Pentagon is an extension of these corporations. They are closely related to the secret junta in the White House.

We must give more basic thought to the ideological and political reasoning that attempts to justify the White House conspiracy to brainwash the people. Their reasoning is that anything goes — any action, any crime, no matter how heinous, is acceptable because it is done in the name of "national security" and is needed to "fight communism."

They arrogantly defend the idea that it is permissible to lie to Congress, to the public and the world when it is in the interest of what they determine to be "national security." In essence, this is an identical coverup with those used by the forces of reaction today in Chile, El Salvador and South Africa.

INSIDERS OF CAPITALISM

All the revelations and scandals exposing the conspiracy hatched in the basement of the White House must be placed in the context of other developments.

The Wall Street explosion uncovering the robbery, manipulations and schemes of the Boeskys, Deavers,

Nofsigers and Wedtechs and the other so-called insiders are all part of the same system, a system whose underbelly is now bared to all. All are insiders of capitalism — the invisible government, the Wall Street thieves, the underworld gangsters, the corporate thugs, the swindling landlords and bankers.

What is new in this cesspool of corruption and decay is that it is hard to distinguish now between what is legitimate and illegitimate, between what is legal and illegal, between the underworld and the corporate world. We have to explain that there is no way to separate the billion-dollar deals of the underworld from those of the so-called legitimate wheeler-dealers. They are all capitalist insiders. They all break laws. They are all products of capitalism.

The secret government and covert operations are all a coverup for the corporations. All this could not have taken place without them, especially the military monopolies and the personnel that operate between the government and the corporations but remain in the shadow government. All the insiders intermingle and are interchangeable. The military men operate between the Pentagon and Wall Street.

Closely related to the covert actions and government by invisible retired military, CIA and FBI personnel is the overall militarization and the role of the military in the economic and political life of the country.

This is the essence of the political crisis. All the corruption, the lawlessness, the stealing and cheating, the lying and demagogy are an integral part of state monopoly capitalism on the downslide.

There is yet another most basic lesson in this current crisis: that the whiff of fascism and reaction can be exposed and defeated. The people's second thoughts are laying the basis for a serious setback for reaction. They have opened up tremendous possibilities in the struggle to defeat the forces of reaction.

Fascism has always been the response of monopoly capital in a crisis. But it has never been inevitable. And it is definitely not inevitable in the United States. Millions of Americans are now reacting, fed by second thoughts and by the residue of the democratic tradition in the United States. They have become concerned about the anti-democratic nature of the illegal, covert actions, the lies and coverup pursued by the Reagan administration.

The exposes and hearings have become an important victory for the forces of democracy and a very serious setback for the ultra-Right forces and fascist-minded fringe. Reagan has been on the decline. Now Reagan and the Reaganites are being isolated.

There is no question now that following the hearings, the more basic second thoughts of the people are laying the foundation for a new mass movement based on mass sentiment for the defense of the Constitution and the democratic government structure. They will mold the alliances in the 1988 presidential elections.

Of course when we speak of democracy in the context of capitalist society it is understood that we speak of bourgeois democracy with all the limitations that capitalist society superimposes on it — limitations related to the corporate drive for maximum profits. This is a limitation of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution. But it is better than no democracy.

Therefore, we defend it, while working to expand it. Working to defend our limited democracy is not a defense of capitalism. On the contrary, it is a challenge to capitalism.

TWO BROADEST CONCERNS

In the minds of the people today there is a coming together of the two broadest concerns that involve the great peace and democratic majority:

1) the concern for the preservation of humanity

and nature because of the threat of nuclear war, and,

2) the deep concern for the preservation of U.S. democracy, the democratic structure and democratic rights.

The danger in both cases comes from the same source: the most reactionary, militaristic, chauvinistic and racist, and anti-labor section of monopoly capital, as represented by the Reagan Administration.

The broad forces reflecting overall democratic traditions and feelings include the working class, middle class, intellectuals, professionals and people in the mass media. This includes large numbers of Afro-Americans, Chicano-Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed minorities.

How to tap the potential of this moment with initiatives that will lead to mass actions by the broadest democratic forces is the task at hand. Our task is to tap this potential so as to give rise to forms of political independence that will lead toward a new popular mass political party.

Iran-contragate calls for a restatement, a repackaging of some of our tasks. There is a need for new initiatives, for the building of a people's movement to establish a new democratic structure, a people's democratic structure. There is a need for movements and struggles to strip the executive branch of much of its powers, to limit or repeal its warmaking powers and for constitutional reforms. In a nuclear world, no one individual should have such powers.

There is a need for people's movements in the struggle to cut the military budget to the bone, to put an end to the war economy and the war budget.

It is possible to go on an ideological offensive against monopoly capitalism. It is a moment when millions can be made to see that monopoly capitalism is the root of all social evils, that it is associated with everything that is anti-democratic, corrupt, immoral,

vulgar, criminal. It is a moment when masses can be made to see capitalism as an inhuman, brutal, anti-social system. In this sense, we can now help make a qualitative change in mass patterns of thought. We can raise political and ideological mass understanding to new levels.

Today we have a new and historic moment to go on the offensive against the use of big lie anti-communism. We can make a lasting, qualitative change in mass ideology. We can go on this offensive by exposing the demagogy of "national security" at home and "national interests" overseas.

ALL-PEOPLE'S UNITY

The exposes of the operations of the secret junta are making significant changes in the mass thought patterns that are cutting across class, political and party lines.

In monopoly and business circles in general there is a deep concern about the people's loss of confidence in the presidency, in the two old parties and especially a loss of confidence in capitalism itself. There has been a dramatic rise of democratic concern in the great majority of Americans.

This raises some important tactical and even some strategic questions. The slogan — all-people's unity — gives the lead. The tactical questions are: how to link up, how to merge the economic struggles, the struggles against racism and for equality, the striving for political independence, for peace and solidarity — into the broad all-people's kind of unity based on saving the world and all living things and the fight to preserve the democratic structure at home.

5. THE CLASS STRUGGLE

IT MAY SEEM UNNECESSARY, EVEN OUT OF CHARACTER, that at a convention of the party of the working class it is necessary to reargue the centrality of the class struggle and the role of our class in it. But it is is necessary.

The very heart of the capitalist ideological booby trap is the continuing denial and camouflaging of the very existence of the class struggle. Companion to this is the theory of the deterioration and shriveling of the working class. There continue to be variations on this anti-workingclass theme. They come from the Left, the Right and the Center, each with its own disguise.

We have been hearing a lot about covert operations lately. But the longest running coverup is the ruling class attempt to cover up the main irreconcilable contradiction of capitalism — the contradiction that gives rise to the class struggle and the working class itself.

There are also so-called left groupings whose main diet is downgrading the U.S. working class. They rehash the old bourgeois nonsense that the U.S. working class is opportunistic, that it is racist, that it has lost its historic place as the central revolutionary force.

CENTRALITY OF CLASS STRUGGLE

To deny the centrality of the class struggle is to deny the existence of the main contradiction of capitalism. The centrality of the class struggle, the main contradiction and the role of the working class are inseparable components of the very essence of the capitalist system. There is no way to replace, to substitute or bypass

that hard rock of capitalist reality.

For us, the main point of reference is the multi-racial, multi-national, male/female, younger and older working class, and the struggle it is engaged in.

In our corner of the universe, there are celestial bodies other than the sun that create their own gravitational forces. But it is the power of the sun that creates and regulates the overall system in which the satellite bodies each have an important place.

Like the sun in the solar system, it is the class struggle and the working class that create the system in which all other forces, movements and struggles make their contributions to human progress. The different mass movements and struggles are separate. They have their own specific interests, demands, tactics and contributions. But like the planets around the sun, to be effective they have to relate to the main contradiction and to the class forces it gives rise to.

More than ever, the working class today is the center of gravity for all-people's unity. The working class is bringing into its orbit all the great struggles of today. Thus, the main champion for democracy today is the working class. The working class brings a new content to the struggle for democracy.

For example, in the coming National Assembly to Stop Plant Closings, the question of public ownership is becoming a question of democracy, of curbing the power of the transnationals and guaranteeing the democratic right of people to live and work and have a decent standard of living and quality of life.

The U.S. working class has reached the 100 million mark — some 180 million including family members and dependents — and is still growing. We are a workingclass country. But while our class grows bigger, it also grows poorer.

The 35-40 million poor who live under the poverty level are, by and large, workers. The last ten years

have been a decade of increased poverty. The average real wages of young men between 20-24 years old plunged 30 percent between 1973 and 1984. For young Afro-American workers the drop is closer to 50 percent.

During the Reagan years, 14 million workers lost their jobs because of plant closings. Sixty percent of the new jobs Reagan boasts about pay below the poverty level. Fifty-seven percent of steelworkers, 46 percent of miners, and 39 percent of factory workers have been laid off, many of them permanently.

Most of the homeless are the millions of steelworkers, autoworkers, construction workers and machinists and their families who have lost their jobs.

Our present generation is the first in decades in which young workers have a lower standard of living than their parents.

QUALITY OF WORKINGCLASS LIFE

It has been a decade of downward economic mobility. There are new millions of workers whose wages are below the minimum wage. And the minimum wage itself is below the official poverty level. Just to measure up to the minimum wage of 20 years ago, the present $3.35 per hour would have to be raised to $5.20 per hour.

One of Reagan's worst legacies will be the fact that seven million human beings have been added to the millions whose income is below the poverty level.

Downward mobility can be measured in many ways. An example is the housing crisis. For ten years or more there has been no construction of affordable housing for working people. It is an irony that as president, Carter did nothing to support funding for the construction of federally subsidized housing, but now he has joined a highly publicized church group that is renovating a handful of dilapidated apartments.

The cost of a house has gone through the roof. The average price is now way beyond the reach of workingclass families. Close to 40 percent of all houses on the market in some suburbs are priced at over $1 million or more.

The quality of workingclass life is deteriorating before our very eyes. This affects medical care, social services, public schools and colleges, housing, public transportation, the care of children and the elderly. The corporate drive for profits has polluted our air, our water, has deforested much of our nation, killing our lakes. Our rich topsoil gets washed away or poisoned. Whole residential areas — especially where workers live — find their homes and lives endangered by chemical dumps.

The erosion of the overall-living standard is a many-sided process:

- Continued decline in real wages;
- An increase in sweatshops and "home" industries;
- Overall growth of non-union conditions where wages are 33 percent lower than union shops;
- An increase in the number of long-term unemployed — as the hungry and homeless get hungrier;
- Cuts in "fringe" benefits;
- Cuts in food stamps, Medicare and welfare payments;
- Spiraling of food prices, rents and other basic necessities;
- Tax increases;
- Worsening of conditions on the job: 23,000 workers were killed on the job in the last five years;
- Increased racism, discrimination and attacks on affirmative action programs.

All this adds up to a declining standard of living and untold human suffering. It is a downward economic mobility for the working people as a whole.

AFRO-AMERICAN WORKERS

The downward mobility affects all workers, but both quantitatively and qualitatively the decline is most drastic among Afro-American workers. Many Afro-American communities are the new inner cities and ghost towns. Plant closings continue in industries and cities where there are large Afro-American communities. Runaway shops are deserting the Harlems, Newarks, Youngstowns, Detroits and Chicagos of our country.

Because of the devastation of the structural crisis most Afro-American workers are without any job security. In greater numbers they are without unemployment benefits or medical insurance. They are the long-term unemployed.

While there has been progress in the struggle against racism, it remains a critical obstacle to class unity. The Reagan-Meese offensive against affirmative action programs has had a crippling effect on the struggle for equality in hiring, on shop floor advancement. In a period when there is a decline in industrial jobs, the racist practice of last-to-be-hired and first-to-be-fired has an especially destructive impact.

The struggle against racism and against the practice of racial discrimination remains a key element in the molding of workingclass unity. This is not yet fully understood by all white workers. However, for many white workers the question of the need for class unity can be the starting point for the struggle against racism.

The problems related to declining jobs, elimination of job classifications and the threat of plant closings adds a new dimension to the struggle against racism. During periods of expansion when there is hiring going on, it is easier to work out affirmative action programs for hiring and even advancement. During peri-

ods of decline it is necessary to come up with more basic arguments that spell out the longer-range benefits of class unity.

The struggle must be directed towards making demands on the corporations — for shorter hours, for affirmative action programs. They must be interwoven with demands for government-sponsored programs for retraining at union wages, for extension of unemployment benefits.

It is necessary to work out a more all-inclusive program against the effects of racism. Such a program can be the basis of class unity.

WOMEN WORKERS

The male-female working class has become a permanent feature of our class scene. Women are now in the working class in equal numbers with men. But equality is still punched out on the time-clock card.

Women workers have reached about 45 percent of the workforce. But in most cases they still get 50 percent of the wage scale. The militancy of women workers has resulted in significant victories, like the equal pay victory in the state of Washington which awarded $101 million in back pay and pay adjustments to 35,000 women workers. However, the majority of women workers work in industries and the service sectors where not only the wages are low, but where there are very few fringe benefits.

Women workers bring into the working class mainly positive attributes. They bring a higher consciousness in areas like preservation of human life and issues of war and peace, greater interest and involvement in community issues and a sharper focus on the relationship between the shop floor, family and neighborhood.

It is becoming ever clearer that the struggle for equality of women in the United States is closely tied

to the class struggle. This is where the main allies of the women's movement are. This is where its main cadre must come from.

In a very special way the struggles for women's equality are closely related to the struggle for equality of Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and all racially and nationally oppressed people. The relations between the forces of the class struggle, the forces of the movement for racial equality and the movement for women's equality are a key element in the struggles in all areas of life.

The overall inequality of women is supported and rationalized by the ideological concepts of male supremacy. It is an ideology pushed by monopoly capital. It is an instrument for the special oppression and exploitation of women. It is a tool in the drive for maximum profits. It is an obstacle to the development of class consciousness and class unity.

In spite of some progress, in the United States the policies of inequality and discrimination are still basically intact. Women's equality remains a basic challenge.

While all workingclass women are victims of special exploitation and male supremacy, more than anyone else the Afro-American, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and American Indian workingclass women are prisoners of special oppression and male supremacy.

Because of these factors, the women's movement has a special responsibility in the struggle for Black-white unity. In this, white women have a special responsibility in the fight against the influences of racism and chauvinism. Black-white unity in the struggle for women's equality can have a special influence on the struggle against racism in general.

To the extent the struggles for equality of women are not related to the other components for social pro-

gress, to that extent the struggles for women's equality will not reach their fullest potential. Thus, the interrelationship and unity of the different components is the key to victories in all areas.

This calls for tactics of many-sided unity —unity of women, unity of men and women, Black-white unity, unity in the working class and unity with the working class.Economic equality for all women in the workforce is critical for the unity and power of the working class. Without such unity the working class will not be able to fulfill the tasks history has assigned it.

OTHER NATIONALLY OPPRESSED WORKERS

Puerto Rican workers in the United States continue to labor at the lower half of the pay scale and great numbers are part-time workers. Mexican-American and the newer workers from the countries of Central America, the Caribbean and the five million Asian-Pacific Americans are all special targets of the new immigration law. Many in this sector of our working class are forced to work at below poverty level wages in service and light industry jobs.

Besides the millions who work at below poverty level wages, there is an even lower wage scale sector growing especially among nationally oppressed workers. The Reagan Administration has removed most regulations from the slave-like home industries. Hidden from the public and unions these workers are doing "piece work" without the protection of the government or trade unions, without any kind of benefits, at below survival wages.

Nationally oppressed workers are a major source of superprofits. The corporations pay them the lowest wages, no "fringe" benefits and are not bound by any safety or health standards. Many of these workers are nationally oppressed women. Millions are on-call, part-time workers.

REAGAN-CORPORATE OFFENSIVE

The syndrome of downward mobility is a product of the Reagan-corporate offensive. When asked whether the American people should have the right to the basic necessities of job, food and shelter, Reagan's Labor Secretary replied: "I think they have a right to seek these things. But I don't think they have a right to demand that they be provided. I don't recall anything in the Constitution about the right to a job."

That says it all — about the Reagan administration and the limitations of the U.S. Constitution. Incidentally, the constitutions of the "evil empire" and all the socialist countries have such lifetime guarantees as a job, food, clothing, shelter, education, medical care, child care.

While it is not possible to set an exact date for the next cyclical crisis of overproduction there can be no question that it will arrive. It is inevitable. It will strike all the major capitalist countries and have its impact on the whole capitalist world.

It is also possible to say with some degree of certainty that this next one will be about 7.5 on the economic Richter scale. And there will be a period of prolonged economic aftershocks.

Some factors that will usher in the crisis are the continuing decline in real wages, the increased rate of exploitation of labor and the Reagan reductions in all socioeconomic programs — in short, the declining standard of living for the majority and the pile-up of extreme wealth at the very top.

The boom phase of the automobile production cycle has passed its peak. The housing boom is over and is shifting into a declining phase.

Like the people in Florida and Louisiana who board up their glass storefronts to prepare for oncoming hurricanes, the big banks all over the country are

setting aside billions as insurance against defaulting loans that come with economic storms.

There is no way to end the decline of jobs in industry or to restore the employment to earlier levels without a major reduction in the work week with no cut in pay. There will be no economic turnaround without wage increases. Hurricane prevention measures must include an end to overtime and a meaningful increase in the minimum wage.

SOME SOLUTIONS

Private enterprise is the cause for plant closings. It is the obstacle to reopening them. This obstacle can only be removed by public takeover.

There is no way to end the decline in affordable housing construction without a massive program of government housing construction in the millions of units per year. Such a program is needed to house the homeless, to clear the slums, to provide jobs and to restore the steel, cement, construction equipment and trucking industries.

The corporate solution to the increasing international competition brought on by the structural crisis is to dramatically reduce labor costs. For example, the head of GM went to Wall Street to announce GM will cut its workforce in half — more production overseas, cut U.S. production, make more profits by selling less cars at higher prices.

A recent *New York Times* Business Section editorial argued that profits and wages rise and fall together and any union activity that impairs profits will cut wages, jobs and living standards.

In the article, "On the Eve of the Auto Talks: Putting an End to Adversarial Unionism," the chief economist for USX, who is also a senior Heritage Foundation ideologue, put out the line: "American labor should

look within itself for answers to its problems and not to outside factors. Its philosophy of ever shorter hours, narrow job classifications and artificial work load limits is at odds with the work ethic and drags down the nation in its fight to stay competitive."

He suggests that, "Labor should drop adversarial unionism and practice enterprise unionism, like the Japanese and Swiss. They should defend and nurture the golden goose of profits. Only profitable and competitive employers create employees — and, quite possibly, union members."

The corporate campaign to win these arguments takes the forms of the old wage and benefit concessions. But new and more insidious forms have emerged in the recent period which can have the effect of destroying unions or turning them into "company unions."

Going under the names of "quality circles," "teamwork," "Employee Involvement Programs," or "Labor-Management Participation Teams," the new corporate strategy is to radically alter the production process in line with new "flexible manufacturing systems," in order to simultaneously boost profits and productivity as they reduce the union to impotence on the shop floor. This has become a critical battleground in basic industry.

Usually combined with "profitsharing," or "gainsharing" plans, these new forms of workplace organization are designed to increase the rate of exploitation at the same time they undermine national industrywide union contracts and shop steward systems. They seek to turn local unions and workers into accomplices for increasing profits in the name of "competitiveness."

Where it becomes necessary and feasible, the tactic should be to turn these negative corporate forms into

positive instruments of struggle. But workers must never forget that these groups with "neutral" sounding names are instruments of the bosses.

These new corporate systems are a direct attack on industrial unionism at the very time when the trade union movement must make a stepped up effort to strengthen industrial unionism and broaden its forms to take account of new types of corporate organization — such as increased conglomerization and internationalization.

These new corporate systems of organization are designed to set workers at different plants in the same company and the same unions against each other.

The trade union response must include:

1) Increased wages and guaranteed employment to compensate for the increase in exploitation;

2) Redoubled efforts to preserve the integrity of industrywide master contracts which deal with so-called "local" issues as well; and,

3) New thinking on how unions can take control over these new types of workplace organization through innovation in steward systems and new forms of in-plant struggles.

STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY & WORKINGCLASS UNITY

From all this it is clear the question of workingclass unity is the most critical of all the important questions we must deal with.

Inequality is not only an instrument of superprofits, but a direct instrument of disunity. The manysided struggle for equality is a necessary prerequisite for workingclass unity.

The struggle for equality must take on the specific cases of inequality. But it must also create an atmosphere of equality. It must be concrete. But it must also be educational.

It must fight for economic equality. But it must also

be political and ideological. The struggle against inequality must fight for a program, for demands. But it must also project slogans.

We must help create a new mode of thinking about class unity. We must imaginatively link the issues that will promote and build new levels of class unity that are needed to go from defensive struggles to offensive struggles.

We must project class unity as a precondition for the working class to be able to fulfill its historic role.

We must do more in the struggle to eliminate racist influences in the ranks of the working class. In this struggle we must learn how to use objective developments as a framework for the struggle against racist influences. We must build on the advances. We must see the remaining influences of racism, but at the same time we must also see the declining influence of the poison.

Following are a few examples of the declining influence of racism.

1) After a racist incident, on the initiative of a white teacher, a local union of teachers in Pontiac Michigan — all white — unanimously voted that the state legislature should ban distribution of Nazi and other hate literature.

2) In St. Louis, white autoworkers issued a statement condemning a racist attack on a Black worker running for a local union office.

3) In Oakland, pipefitters, faced with a plant closing and reopening in South Korea, joined a demonstration called by Korean Americans in support of democratic struggles in South Korea.

These and the many more experiences that I'm sure will come out during the plenary, workshops and commissions at this convention, are examples of actions and advanced consciousness that concretely build class unity.

FRESH WINDS VS. THE AFL-CIO BASEMENT

It is in this framework that we must examine whether we can be more helpful to the trade union movement, as the pivotal mass organization of the working class.

The new fresh winds that our trade union program correctly forecast continue to blow. As with all winds, there are gusts up to 60 miles per hour, and there are also moments when one has to wet one's finger and hold it in the air to determine whether the wind is still blowing.

What is new is that the gusts are stronger and come more often and that the winds do not reverse themselves.

But there are strong forces in the leadership of the AFL-CIO that are very actively working to reverse the direction of the fresh winds. In the recent months they have become better organized, more persistent and outspoken. The International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO, under the Rightwing leadership of Tom Kahn, with the backing of Lane Kirkland, Albert Shanker and others, has gone all out to revive some of the old class collaborationist policies, especially in giving support to the Reagan policies of imperialist aggression.

The ideological departments of the CIA and the International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO are two sides of the same coin. They are spending huge sums of somebody's money to mobilize their forces to tip the scales at the upcoming AFL-CIO convention in October.

The struggle over labor's participation in the April 25th demonstration was a trial run for the longer-range struggle. The class collaborationists lost that one. The largest contingents in both Washington and San Francisco were the trade unions.

While the Rightwing forces in the AFL-CIO are be-

coming increasingly isolated, it is still necessary for us to look at their activities in detail.

It is one of those U.S. peculiarities that this inner-department of the trade union movement operates mainly covertly with its secret sources of money, like the CIA. None of its personnel are elected and it supports an administration that is totally anti-union, both at home and abroad.

Almost all the governments that were involved in the Iran-contragate conspiracy do not hesitate to murder trade unionists. And yet there is evidence that the International Affairs Department played its usual supporting role.

There are more and more exposures linking the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department with the gang of gun runners who have been operating for years out of the White House basement. More and more evidence is coming to light, linking together International Affairs Department officials, members of Social Democrats, USA, and the Poindexter-North operations.

These connections are becoming a growing embarrassment and threaten to expose further those in labor's ranks who — in the name of anti-communism — secretly and not so secretly cooperated with the CIA and State Department in sabotaging labor and people's movements here and abroad.

The National Endowment for Democracy, the labor arm of White House contra-funding operation, together with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) are almost extensions of the U.S. State Department. They are directly implicated in both fund raising for the contras and in the illegal use of public money to target, pressure and defeat Democratic swing votes in the House of Representatives.

The Reagan bootlickers in labor support an administration that not only went all out to break a strike, but

destroyed a union, PATCO, in the process.

They are in cahoots with an administration that is proposing to take over the Teamsters Union, to put it under Mussolini-like government control. Then it can be used as a precedent for taking over the trade union movement as a whole — a proposal that is disturbingly similar to the administration's policy of replacing governors and mayors with Lt. Colonels and Admirals under a so-called national emergency.

The Rightwing forces in the trade union movement have launched a new effort to gather their forces, and are therefore a greater threat. But the fresh winds that blow in opposition to the Right wing continue, and they have many currents.

The Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO has launched a major counterattack on overall questions of jobs, wages and the right to organize. The "Jobs With Justice" drive, which grew out of the April 25th demonstration, calls for rallies, picketlines and lobbying. This is an important initiative because there has been a loud demand in the grassroots for such leadership. It is an effort to mobilize both the organized and unorganized, an effort to build a political and ideological base for offensive struggles. It is seen as a campaign to mobilize, agitate and educate.

The fresh winds are getting strong support from such organizations as Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). On many questions CBTU and CLUW take more advanced positions than the trade union leadership as a whole.

UNITED WORKINGCLASS FRONT

The forces that welcome and support the fresh winds are not of one mind. They do not always support all the currents. At times some are momentarily affected by Rightwing countercurrents. Therefore, the overall

tactics must move in the direction of achieving a unity that can encompass differences. That should be the very essence of the tactics of a united class front policy.

The fresh winds and changing thought patterns are creating a new magnetic force by which to adjust the workingclass compass. A united class front policy must be the approach to all struggles, from economic struggles on the shop floor to the contract negotiating table.

A united class front policy must be the underpinning for the trade union PACs, for the electoral tactic of political independence.

There are some new factors that have a negative impact on the unity of the working class. The structural crisis — plant closings and the relocation of manufacturing facilities to non-union areas — has all but wiped out whole sections of the trade union movement.

Since Reagan came into office, almost two million union jobs have been wiped out. The number of union construction workers has fallen by about a half-million, and the number of non-union construction workers has increased by about the same number. Unorganized auto plants, steel mini-mills and whole sections of the electrical industry are unorganized.

This non-union bridgehead presents a serious problem for the trade union movement and for our Party. It saps the strength of the unionized sector. It is a serious challenge to the unity of the class. In its overall class interests the trade union movement must find the resources to set up a well-planned program of organizing the unorganized.

Another new and growing factor affecting workingclass and trade union unity is the permanently unemployed, millions of whom are homeless and hungry. The number of permanently unemployed workers grows even during the boom phase of the economic

cycle. These are also unorganized workers.

The trade union movement can ignore the growing army of unemployed only at its own peril. The corporations discard workers, but the trade unions must not. We must help to find ways to create the organized link between the three components — unity between the unorganized, unemployed and the trade union movement. That which challenges the working class and trade union movement is as much a challenge to us Communists. It is a challenge to all Left forces.

We cannot meet our responsibilities by lecturing or pointing the finger at trade union leaders. We must help to find the path to workingclass unity that will include the sections that are now drifting.

UPDATE: MASS THOUGHT PATTERNS

Because of the fresh winds in the trade union movement, it is necessary to update our assessment of workingclass mass thought patterns.

Objective developments have narrowed down the influence of the Right wing. Thus, in the grassroots the influence of the Right wing on most questions has become rather thin. This is a most important development.

An important section of the top leadership is still very much Rightwing and class collaborationist, both in domestic and foreign policy issues. But a growing section of the top and especially the middle layer of leadership is moving in a progressive direction, in both domestic and foreign affairs.

Because of the changing thought patterns, the membership — and the workingclass grassroots in general — increasingly respond to tactics of class struggle, class unity and class political independence.

They join in the struggles for ending the nuclear arms race. Twenty-seven internationals are officially

part of the nuclear Freeze movement. They join in the struggles against U.S. policies that support the racist regime in South Africa and the contras in Central America.

The initiative by *Labor Today* and Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) to organize a National Assembly to Stop Plant Closings can develop into a broad-based movement for a militant fight against plant closings.

The Jobs With Justice campaign is a direct challenge to class collaboration and is already capturing the imagination of many trade unionists — membership and leadership — as well as grassroots workingclass community organizations.

On most of the big issues, to one extent or another, the grassroots take issue with the Rightwing positions of the Kirklands and Shankers. To a large extent the grassroots has moved to the positions that were thought patterns of the Center forces in past years.

Then there is the growing broad Left sector in the ranks of the leadership, but even more so in the grassroots. This broader Left element now encompasses much of what also were called Center positions.

Because of these changing thought patterns it is more difficult — and unnecessary — to speak of a Right, a Center and a Left. Making a distinction between the bulk of the membership and those who are Center forces has largely lost its meaning.

In today's context, the old Center concept does not leave enough room for the broader Left development. And the thought patterns which were considered Center in the past have now become the thought patterns of the bulk of the trade union membership and much of the leadership. And the broader Left now occupies part of that domain also.

In other words, it seems to me the thought pat-

terns have changed to where the bulk of the trade union movement is reaching the point where it is not necessary, or even correct, to distinguish the great majority from a separate, designated Center section.

Therefore, what is called for as the main tactical approach is the organization and mobilization of the united working class. Thought patterns have changed enough so that the appeal on most questions can be made to the whole class, to all members of the trade union movement.

Hence the concept of a united workingclass front. And, associated with and an integral part of this united class is a Left sector that has grown and is still growing — thus, an appeal to a united Left to give leadership to a united workingclass front.

This shift in tactics raises the importance of and makes it possible to work more within the trade union structure — to work within local unions, within central labor and state bodies.

Thought patterns have shifted to where most of the issues that unite the Left forces can be raised within locals, within central and state labor bodies. The united Left forces should now think in terms of moving the whole trade union movement. In fact, the whole trade union grassroots can be mobilized in the struggle against the Right wing.

These new thought patterns are not yet fully developed, but the direction is clear. They will continue to refresh the fresh winds.

BUILDING LEFT UNITY

For millions of workers up against incredible odds in their battles with the transnationals and finance capital, with the union busters, corporate takeover thugs, it is becoming clearer every day that unity — a united workingclass front — is the only way to beat them.

The idea of unity is now heard everywhere in trade

union circles. It is both a product of and a spur to the fight against racism. It is also a product of and spur to the decline of anti-communism in the labor movement.

What is heard more and more in discussions with trade unionists is the idea that "I may not agree with you on everything, but we can and must work together."

There is an enormous respect for the history of the Left in our trade union movement. The period of the CIO and the militant leadership provided by the Left is looked upon as the example of what we should be doing today.

More and more the Right wing — Kirkland, Shanker and the Rightwing Social Democrats —are seen as the saboteurs of unity in the trade union movement, not the Left. This desire to close ranks in the battle is a powerful force. And it includes not only the desire for unity within the trade union movement, but also unity with the broader forces represented by civil rights, church, women's, seniors and youth organizations.

What developed around April 25th, the coalition of labor and the churches, is a good example. Now the Jobs with Justice campaign that calls upon all who can be part of the anti-monopoly fight to join with the labor movement is the continuation of this. The dozen international unions and the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO who have formed this campaign are responding to the Left thought patterns among their millions of members.

As a result of all this, we are seeing a deeper class consciousness developing among the working class, and particularly among the organized sector of the class.

By and large these are Left thought patterns. How else would you describe the thought patterns of the

nearly 175,000 trade unionists who marched on April 25? These trade unionists clearly made the connection between their own bread-and-butter issues — their battles against the transnationals — and the anti-imperialist fight of the people of South Africa and Central America. They represent the outlook of millions of other trade unionists.

When we broaden our sights to include the enormous 100 million strong working class we can begin to see that we are dealing with a different workingclass population today, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

WITHOUT LEFT, "NOWHERE TO GO"

At our last convention in 1983, in the section of the Main Report on "Building the Left and Center Unity," we said:

> Left-Center forms are now increasingly possible and necessary. But without Left forms even such important concepts have nowhere to go. A trade union movement without Left forms is like a person trying to jog with only one leg.
>
> The Center forces continue to be a viable force in the ranks of the working class and trade union movement. The Center forces of today are not the same as those of years ago. Generally, they are less influenced by Rightwing elements. They waver on foreign policy issues. Many are still influenced by anti-communism and racism. They are more militant on domestic issues. . . .
>
> Nothing moves in a vacuum. Forces move either because they are repelled or attracted. Today, the Center forces are increasingly repelled by the Rightwing forces.
>
> Therefore, it is clear that while they are stimulated by objective factors, while they are reacting to

> issues, how fast they will move, on what issues they will move and what forms the movement will take depends largely on their relationship with Left forces.
>
> In working for Left unity we are working with, and giving direction to, trends that are already in motion. We are not inventing these trends.

This process we described so accurately four years ago has now come to fruition. It is a much more clearly defined development.

The Center forces have continued to mature to the point where they are now much of the membership. The Left forces, "moving with trends already in motion," have grown, given leadership, developed organized forms and moved towards greater and greater unity with other forces and movements.

Thus, the terms we use, our definition and description of Left (as well as Center) has become too narrow. Today the Left is different. If we continue to see the Left as a small, narrow group then there is no room for the Communist Party.

As a matter of fact we can only see the united workingclass front if we see the Left more broadly. To match the shift our programs, slogans and tactics have to be looser, broader and more flexible. The loosening up of our tactics must be based on our assessment of changing thought patterns.

Let me now discuss how we see this shift in relation to Left unity in all mass movements and people's struggles.

We are for unity of the Left forces in the peace movement. It is obvious that large sections of the population who are for ending the nuclear arms race now identify with and relate to the more advanced Left positions.

Therefore, the Left peace forces must break out of

their narrow, sectarian, cloistered isolation. Only in this way can it also break out of the crisis of inaction on the peace front.

We are for Left unity with the Left forces in the Afro-American community and movements. On issues directly related to the struggle for equality, the great majority of Afro-Americans relate to and support Left positions. This does not mean we do not need organized Left forms. Without Left forms the organized power of advanced positions on issues cannot be molded. There is a need for organized Left forms working with the Afro-American movements.

The same approach and the forms to fit are needed to organize the Left forces among Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, American Indian and Asian Pacific peoples.

National oppression, especially with the devastating effects of Reaganism, has created an anger and militancy and with this a growing anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly and class conscious sector in these movements.

Thus, there is now a Left and the basis for an organized Left and Left unity in the movements of the nationally oppressed.

We are for Left unity in the youth movement. Because of the objective developments that are destroying all hopes for reaching "the American dream," it is necessary to think now in terms of all-youth unity. A united Left sector must be a part of and work within the concept of unity of the young generation.

As the struggles for women's equality have moved into the arena of the class struggle and politics, the women's movement has become an important political force. Women have become a greater force in the molding of workingclass unity. Women have become a recognized force in all other areas of struggle.

But today there is a broad movement and an even

broader consensus that takes in the great majority of women. Within this broad consensus there is a growing Left sector. Therefore, there is the need for a united Left force.

More Left forces are gravitating toward organizations like Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The breadth and depth of the 200-member U.S. delegation to the recent international women's peace conference in Moscow was a demonstration of the changing thought patterns.

Thus, it is now necessary for the Party and other Left forces to take a new look to see whether the present Left forms in all the movements and struggles are broad enough, whether they are still adequate to give leadership to both the expanding movements and to a united Left.

The same kind of examination is called for in our work among farmers. The farm crisis has had a deep-going effect on the thought patterns in the farm communities because it has caused so much personal suffering to so many farm families. There is a rising anger and the kind of militancy that leads to action.

What is most important is that the farm organizations have taken the initiative in the efforts toward farmer-labor unity. As a result of hard times, struggle and protest, there is a growing Left sector among the farmers. Our comrades working in this area must take initiatives to help give organized form to this growing Left farm sector.

We can see an emerging Left sector in most mass movements today, in the seniors movement, health care, public education, in the church movements and among the growing sector of the permanently unemployed. As these sectors blossom we must help give them form and tactics so they can become a recognized leading force in advancing all movements and all-

people's unity. The united majorities can develop their full political muscle only if there are organized Left froms working with them.

IDEOLOGICAL STUMBLING BLOCKS

In our consideration of these developments it is necessary to take into account that there are still some obstacles to Left unity.

Anti-Sovietism has long been such an obstacle. However, with the new U.S. peace majority, the decline in anti-Sovietism and the new interest in socialist developments, the possibilities for a broad Left unity have increased greatly. Today, those who stand in the way of such unity are becoming increasingly isolated.

Anti-communism is not as effective now. It has lost its ability to separate labor from its allies and to maintain longstanding divisions in labor's own ranks. Those who continue to make anti-communism the primary question for labor in place of the battle against the transnationals will either soon become irrelevant or will get thrown out of the path of progress.

As is the case with all alliances or coalitions, in order to build Left unity there has to be an underlying basis of agreement, a common understanding about the issues on which the foundation for unity is laid.

The purpose of a united Left alliance is to help give effective leadership to broader forces and to organize more advanced forms of struggle. However, this Left leadership must be constructive — not provocative, destructive, divisive, manipulative or anti-Communist Party.

THE PHONY, ANTI-PARTY LEFT

For the time being many of the small "left" groupings have pulled in their anti-Soviet horns. For most this is a tactical maneuver. Because of the overall decline in anti-Sovietism and because the base for these senti-

ments has narrowed down, it is now difficult for a phony left grouping to be anti-Soviet and maintain any credibility with broader forces.

There are phony left groupings that come and go. They are phony because on the one hand they use Marxist phrases but on the other hand they are anti-workingclass and anti-Communist Party.

They take opportunistic positions with Left covers on most questions. But they spend most of their time attacking the positions of the Communist Party, USA. Their attacks on the Communist Party are an opportunistic concession to the reactionary forces.

These groupings have no real following so they become leeches, attaching themselves to organizations and movements, making provocative appearances at mass meetings, distributing their anti-Communist Party diatribes.

Most of these grouplets continue the old Trotskyite tactic of disrupting united movements. Most still pursue the policy of "takeover and destroy."

Some now say they want to work with the Party. But that is also phony because at the very time they are talking about working with the Party, they are working to take over and destroy it.

Anyone who is honest and has honest differences with the Party, but is not out to slander or disrupt the Party, will have no problems working in mass movements with Communists. However, dishonest or enemy class forces express their so-called differences in ways that aim to divide and destroy.

Anyone can work with the Party. However, we want to make it clear that we will not permit anyone to use the Party for narrow, sectarian, disruptive purposes. In fact, if some honest Left forces have no basic differences with the Party, then really the natural thing for them to do is join the Party.

At times like these, when the conditions and senti-

ments are crying out for Left unity, we will not permit these small dishonest, destructive, provocative sects to place obstacles in the way of working toward a united workingclass front.

The more concrete, definitive forms of unity will materialize as we work among Left forces in all the movements. It is clear there is a new basis for unity of all Left forces in all movements and struggles — on the basis of issues, positions, actions and honesty.

With this understanding, our Party must and will become an active, constructive and mobilizing force in organizing the new concepts of Left unity, a united all-people's unity, with a united workingclass front bringing to the fore the power and oneness of our multiracial, multinational, male-female working class.

THOUGHT PATTERNS ON RACISM

There are continuing changes in thought patterns related to racism.

On the one hand there are the violent racist outbursts that are stimulated by the atmosphere created by Reagan-Meese racist acts and agitation. Reflecting this same atmosphere is the rash of racist police violence and police killings.

On the other hand, according to recent public opinion polls, the majority of white Americans are against inequality. All do not yet see affirmative action as the solution to undo inequality — a weakness we must relentlessly struggle to overcome. Nevertheless, it shows how white people are moving leftward, including against overt racism, but like swimmers moving with the current in a rapid river, they sometimes get caught in whirlpools.

Tens of millions of white workers have now had experience in working side by side with their Black counterparts. The days of legal Jim Crow mines and mills, schools and public facilities have been gone for

quite a while. This interracial contact has added to the developing anti-racist consciousness among white workers.

Thus, organization of the struggle against racism, especially acts of racist violence, is essential because large sections of white masses do not have generations of experience in being against racism.

The experiences in Cleveland, Detroit, Howard Beach and Atlanta prove that it is now possible to move white workers to challenge the racists directly. And when this happens the racist elements retreat.

This should give us confidence to take bold initiatives when racist violence takes place. But it also raises questions about preventive actions. There is a need for broad movements against racism. And there is also a need for organized Left leadership, program and forms.

NATIONAL OPPRESSION & ANTI-SEMITISM

The rise in national oppression is reflected in the increase in national chauvinism against Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, Asian-Pacific, American Indian and all nationally oppressed peoples.

It is expressed in rising incidents of violence and harassment, in the slave labor sweatshops, brutal home industries and farm labor conditions, in the implementation of the anti-labor, racist aspects of the new immigration law.

It can be seen in the terrible poverty and suffering in the barrios, ghettos and on the reservations across our land.

On the other hand, there is the growth of movements and organizations that are taking on the violence, harassment and brutal working conditions imposed by the superprofit-seeking corporations. And, there is the growing coming together of the nationally oppressed and the trade union movement. This adds

an important new dimension to political independence.

Partly because of the public response to Israel's role in Irangate and the Pollard spy case, there is a rise in incidents of anti-Semitism and anti-Semitic sentiments that are being used as a tool by the ultra-Right — for example, in the farm belt in an attempt to blame the farm crisis on "Jewish bankers." The *Wall Street Journal* keeps pointing to the ethnic background of the Wall Street insiders.

Bigotry and prejudice against Jewish Americans usually accompany a rise in racism and an atmosphere that feeds racism and anti-Semitism. Therefore unity, which has been historically the case, is natural and necessary.

The recent convention of the progressive New Jewish Agenda stressed the need for unity with labor and with all sections of the nationally oppressed, challenging the influence of Zionism. This is the kind of Left unity that can give the lead in building all-people's unity against racism, anti-Semitism and all forms of discrimination.

THOUGHT PATTERNS IN THE FARM COMMUNITY

If current trends and government policies continue the family farmer, already an endangered species, will be almost extinct in a matter of ten years. And the repercussions will reach far beyond the countryside or the pockets of the consumers. Thousands of jobs will be lost.

Throughout this century a steady trickle of Americans have left farming. But during the 1980's this trickle swelled into a flood as the farm belt struggled with the worst economic crisis since the 1930's depression. About 400,000 family farms have been forced out of business in the past six years. Today, one third of

the nation's 600,000 moderate-size family farms are in serious trouble, and nearly 2,000 people are giving up farming every week. Every farm loss wipes out about five non-farm jobs, most of them in the same locality.

More than 65,000 workers in the agricultural implement business have lost their jobs in the past six years, a 62 percent decline. For every five to seven farms going under, one Main Street business shuts its doors.

The net income of American farmers will drop by 35 percent in the next four years if government farm policy is not changed for the better. About 60 percent of today's farmers must have non-farm income to maintain themselves on their land. Farm wives are often forced to take low paid jobs in town, leaving children, without any nearby neighbors.

If nothing is done, U.S. agriculture will be be completely dominated by giant corporations. A mere 50,000 large "agribusiness" farms, owned by absentee landlords and operated by day laborers, will account for 75 percent of the nation's agricultural production.

The farm crisis and the unity of farm organizations and farmers demanding a change in federal farm policy was a vital factor in the outcome of the national elections. The unity of farmers and labor in rallies and demonstrations demonstrates the power of such an alliance.

The "Save the Family Farm" Bill (Harkin-Gephardt) has the overwhelming support of all progressive farm organizations and coalitions of church, community, education, senior citizens and labor groups. The bill faces strong opposition from grain trading and food processing monopolies, railroads and the transportation lobby. They are helped by those who in the name of opposing the raising of food prices by limiting supply are mobilizing support against the bill. When the bill was before the 99th Congress, the only group

that gave it support was the AFL-CIO. Some pro-peace representatives voted against the bill and helped defeat it.

If this bill is to be enacted it is important for our Party to help the trade unions mobilize the consumer, peace, women and senior groups to support it. In order to do this, we must launch a campaign to show that food prices in the supermarkets bear no relation with farm prices.

In all these struggles to save the family farm the new element has been unity — unity of the farmers, farm organizations, farm families, communities and the unity of farmers with labor. The task for the future is to help develop the Left sector to give leadership to the farm forces now in motion and advance toward an all-people's unity to save the family farm.

YOUTHFUL THOUGHT PATTERNS

The thought patterns of youth are being shaped by two primary factors: the growing nuclear threat and the general insecurity of life brought on by the triple layered crisis. The instinct for self-preservation has influenced the thinking of young people may be more than any other sector. The thinking of youth generally continues to develop in a progressive direction.

The thinking of youth is shaped by the downward mobility of the working class that is hitting the youth especially hard. Unemployment is still hovering around 24 percent and the homeless crisis hits youth especially hard. There is a growing trend of hopelessness that stems from the situation facing many youth.

Because of the growing anxiety, anger and hopelessness youth are searching for solutions through struggle. There is a growing support of trade union struggles by students who tend to accept and look to the leading role of labor in coalitions. There is a growing anti-racist majority among youth.

These developments are reflected in a level of growth of the Young Communist League unlike anything since its founding.

In a number of places YCLers are becoming leading personalities. YCLers are being elected to student governments and to the leadership of other mass organizations. The YCL is increasingly being sought out by coalitions. In some instances, the YCL is now the leading force on campus. This is especially true in the struggle against racism.

The YCL is stepping up its drive to become a more militant and action-oriented organization, in keeping with the developing thought patterns among youth.

At a recent meeting, the YCL made a decision to place greater emphasis on its work on the university campuses. This was in keeping with the long-term changes which have taken place in the character of the student body and in line with the policy of industrial concentration of the Party. Greater emphasis on the campuses will lead to acceleration in the growth of the YCL. It will provide the YCL with a strong layer of new cadre.

The Party in almost every district must change its attitude toward the YCL and youth work, especially in view of the stepped up activities and the new stature, influence and growth of the YCL.

We, in the Party, have to put an end to the attitude that sees youth work as akin to being in the "minor leagues," while seeing Party work as "the majors." Adding the Communist *plus* to youth work means building the YCL.

Every district and club must have a plan of work for building the YCL. Party districts and clubs must assign cadre to it. Once cadre are assigned, close attention by the Party leadership is called for.

This is especially so on the campuses where Party professors should be helping the YCL to establish

study groups, hold mass meetings, print newsletters. Where study groups have been set up they yield results. The Party should consider selecting 25 key campuses across the country for building the Party and YCL. It would mean districts would adopt "concentration universities" and develop plans of work.

The tactic of all-youth unity and organized Left forms within it must be the basis for the work of our Party and the YCL in work among youth.

SENIOR THOUGHT PATTERNS

The older population has become an increasingly larger part of the total population. There are 35 million recipients of social security.

The elderly are increasingly the victims of poverty, homelessness, illness and crime. The senior population is increasingly organized and active on the economic front, but also in the struggles and actions for peace and democracy. Seniors are important participants in the electoral process. Generally they vote against Rightwing candidates. But, as the last election showed, that cannot be taken for granted.

The elderly are active and militant in the fight to stop cuts in social security, health care, Medicare, home care, housing and transportation.

Senior Party members are influential members of mass organizations. They have prestige and influence both in organizations and among public officials. They initiate advanced positions, legislation and programs which are adopted by mass organizations. They appear on radio, TV and in the editorial pages of major newspapers.

However, because the Party has not been able to reestablish a national senior commission, the work has suffered. Some districts have now established commissions and there is a concentrated effort to establish a national collective.

The senior movement is an all-class movement, with the working class and unions playing a leading role. Black-white unity within the organized sector of seniors is critical to their active, progressive role. The senior movement is an essential part of the all-people's movements and unity against reaction and Reaganism. As in other sectors, there is the need for tactics of all-seniors unity as well as organized forms of Left unity.

CHANGING THOUGHT PATTERNS & MASS CULTURE

Developments on the cultural front are so reflective of the changing thought patterns that we can now speak about a new mass people's and workingclass culture emerging as a dominant force.

The changing thought patterns on peace, intervention, social justice and equality are expressed in music, in film, theater, radio and TV.

For example, Bruce Springsteen continues to lend his name and large sums of money to support struggles of workers and their unions. A growing list of U.S. and British musicians have toured the Soviet Union. Well known artists whose albums sell millions of copies are singing songs that are anti-imperialist, anti-Reagan, anti-racist, anti-apartheid, anti-corruption, pro-democracy and pro-workingclass.

By the way, you should not miss the tapes of beautiful, Communist and workingclass people's songs by Comrade Bernice Diskin.

Another development is the surge in films that deal directly with disarmament and against U.S. intervention in Central America, from "War Games," to "Spies Like Us," to "Amazing Grace & Chuck," "Superman IV," "Latino," "Salvador," and "The Official Story."

Even on Broadway plays like "Broadway Bound" and "I'm Not Rappaport," which have won awards,

have workingclass, anti-racist and other themes that deal with peace and social justice.

Compared with the cultural scene of only a few years ago, the difference is striking. These widespread changes were seen during this year's award ceremonies for film and music where political statements were sprinkled among the acceptance speeches and performances.

In addition, the militancy and strike struggles of actors, musicians, directors and news writers and technicians add another dimension to the picture of a changing cultural and mass media scene that we must work to influence and unify.

6. 1988 ELECTIONS

THE 1988 ELECTIONS ARE LITTLE OVER A YEAR AWAY. AND, as is characteristic of electoral politics in our country, the campaigning has been underway for some time now. Candidates, political parties, mass organizations and mass movements are intensely working — and in some instances maneuvering — for position to win the nominations, to project their respective issues and assemble a winning coalition for victory in the general election.

Given the time, issues and the stakes, a historic election is in the making.

There's that word again, "historic." At our last convention four years ago we said the 1984 presidential election would be historic. Now we are saying the same about next year's. It may seem to some that the Communist Party views every election as historic.

In retrospect, however, the 1984 elections were precisely that, even though the people's movement was not able to prevent Reagan's reelection. Despite the historic efforts of the forces of political independence, the AFL-CIO's pre-primary endorsement of Walter Mondale; despite the unprecedented breakthrough candidacy of Jesse Jackson; despite the amazing discipline of trade union, Afro-American, Latino and Jewish voters in overwhelmingly rejecting President Reagan by margins of 66 percent, 90 percent, 65 percent and 70 percent respectively — Reagan was reelected.

Back then, the all-people's front had not grown to a

level at which it was capable of overcoming the extremely difficult odds that were stacked against the anti-Reagan movement, especially the extraordinary limitations of Walter Mondale and the betrayal by some Democrats.

The forces of political independence, however, particularly as a result of the united action of labor and the Afro-American community, were able to make the difference in the Senate and House races, eroding the Republican majority's margin in the Senate. This laid the basis, two years later, for achieving a shift in the political balance in the Congress by virtue of putting an end to the Republican Senate majority.

The growth of political independence, though still expressed mainly through the Democratic Party, was only one side of the historic character of the 1984 election. Throughout that election our Party warned of what was at stake in terms of policy. Our pamphlet, "A Whiff of Fascism," alerted the nation that the 1984 Republican convention revealed that the reactionary nature of Reaganism had reached a new level, threatening peace and democracy.

The Iran-contragate hearings reveal the existence of an anti-constitutional conspiracy involving the creation of a secret government, a secret junta of military-intelligence personnel linked to the top circles of the transnational corporations and the military industrial complex. This proves the correctness of our estimate of the historic significance of that election and the main direction of developments since: that the most extremist forces in the Reagan Administration were fully committed to implementing the projection Paul Weyrich, head of the ultra-Right Committee for a Free Congress, voiced at the 1984 Republican convention: "We are out to change the present political power structure of this country." In some measure they succeeded.

The truth is, the Reaganites had gone much further

down this road than we or anyone else suspected. This is why exposing the conspiracy, though extremely important, is not enough. The anti-democratic, anti-constitutional conspiracy must be dismantled. This is the most urgent, immediate task facing all movements. The big question is, how?

GOAL: REAGANISM WITHOUT REAGAN

In essence, the secret government which was organized and operated out of the White House is the political counterpart of the monopoly corporations. Like the corporations, it acted in total disregard and defiance of the laws, not only of the United States, but every country.

The corporations believe if a trade union is an obstacle to maximum profits, they should be able to close their plants down and open others up in countries whose governments openly suppress the labor movement. The Reagan conspirators believe if a progressive government becomes an obstacle to maximum profits, it should be closed down, overthrown and replaced with one that will do Wall Street's bidding.

The anti-democratic, fascist essence of the conspiracy should cause the Party and the mass movement to give a great deal more thought to what the ultra-Right means by "Reaganism without Reagan."

The nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court, the stacking of the federal judiciary with Reaganites, efforts to regain the Republican Senate majority, using control of state legislatures to redistrict congressional districts to the benefit of Rightwing Republican candidates, privatizing federal government functions, calls for the early deployment of Star Wars and for funding the contras well into the term of the next president — all have to be seen in this context.

The secret government was amassing the resources

and forces to carry out operations on behalf of the corporations and the military monopolies, without the Congress or the people ever knowing about it.

Unlike a coup, this takeover of government could go on largely unseen. Without congressional oversight and restraint, undeclared wars could be conducted, components of Star Wars could be put in place. And if there were a legal challenge, the courts stacked with Reaganites exercising "judicial restraint" would simply say that such actions were not prohibited by the "original intent" of the framers of the Constitution.

Defense of the nation's democratic institutions and constitutional system of government now must take the growing tendencies toward authoritarian, dictatorial rule head on.

Congress must be moved to take legislative measures to dismantle the conspiracy. New laws are needed to impose the sternest criminal punishment for the abuse of power, circumvention of Congress and violation of federal officials' oath of office.

There is also the need for legislation to drain the federal government structure of the cesspools that continually spawn anti-democratic, anti-constitutional conspiracies from McCarthyism to Watergate to Iran-contragate. This means abolishing the CIA, FBI, the National Security Council — the exchange pool that shifts cadre back and forth between the Pentagon, the intelligence agencies and monopoly corporations, especially the military monopolies.

An independent mobilization by the trade unions and mass people's organizations is necessary to wage a relentless struggle for decisive congressional actions. But the Party must help the mass movement face the fact that while some practical results are certainly possible, the present composition of Congress is a serious obstacle to enacting legislation corresponding to the level of the danger.

It is this reality that amplifies the historic significance of next year's presidential and congressional elections. They offer the broadest and most direct avenue for the intervention and independent action of the masses against the Reaganite conspiracy. The old slogan, "throw the rascals out," could not be more appropriate.

REFERENDUM ON CONSPIRACY

The deeper, more profound second thoughts that tens of millions of Americans are having about Iran-contragate will begin to crest into action just as the primaries get under way. This will inevitably turn the 1988 elections into a pitched battle between the ultra-Right and the all-people's front, and a referendum on the Reaganite conspiracy.

In 1984, the people's movement was not strong enough to prevent Reagan's reelection. In 1986, with the unity of the trade union movement, the Afro-American and Spanish-speaking communities as its chief dynamic, the all-people's front turned a 53-47 Republican Senate majority into a 45-55 Republican minority. The 1988 elections will be a settling of the score.

None of the candidates for the Republican presidential nomination represent a break with the anti-democratic conspiracy, with Reaganomics or the Reagan Doctrine. And many Republican senators and representatives up for reelection have chosen to defend the President, no matter what. This sharply focuses the elections into the framework of all-people's unity.

The post-1986 congressional election period has seen the reemergence of moderate forces in the Republican Party. This is also evident in the mixed, but generally positive role played by one or two Republican senators during the Iran-contragate hearings. However, the absence of a moderate candidate for the Republican nomination demonstrates that this wing is

not strong enough to wrest control from the ultra-Right.

Therefore, the entire Republican primary field, in spite of whatever differences may exist among them, is in line with the ultra-Right's strategic objective of "Reaganism without Reagan." None will or can run on any basis other than defending the direction of the Reagan Administration. Even if they wanted to, and apparently they do not, none can win the nomination without the approval and support of the ultra-Right forces that dominate the Republican Party.

The dialectics of the emerging political situation heading into 1988 are such that the Democrats have no choice but to challenge Reagan's record and try to offer a credible alternative. This is because they have no alternative.

From both the positive 1986 congressional election experience and the negative Mondale experience, the mass constituencies of the Democratic Party have made it absolutely clear that they will not turn out for Democrats who try to "out-Reagan Reagan."

The failure of Walter Mondale to present a clear anti-Reagan alternative in the 1984 general election undermined the mobilization of the trade union movement, Afro-American community and other independent forces. But in the 1986 election, when the issue of ending Republican control of the Senate was clear, the independent forces, sections of the regular Democratic Party and large numbers of voters responded accordingly.

In several instances the coalition of the forces of political independence succeeded in electing the more liberal Democratic candidates in the primaries. This guaranteed that Republican incumbents would face an anti-Reaganite opponent in the '86 general election.

With the all-people's anti-Reaganite framework

clearly established, voters responded even in races in which defeating a Reaganite incumbent meant electing a conservative Democrat. The anti-Reaganite dynamic and the all-people's electoral unity was such that even the conservative Democrats were compelled to conduct their campaigns on the basis of challenging the pro-Reagan stance of the incumbents on specific issues. Therefore, the ousting of many of the most reactionary incumbents also sent a powerful message to the conservative Democrats elected to replace them.

The lesson is clear. When presented with a choice of a Democrat who is a sanitized version of a Rightwing Republican and a Reaganite, key sectors of the electorate simply stay at home. The failure of the Democrats to conduct next year's campaign on an anti-Reagan basis in the primaries and the general election, which would allow the mobilization of all-people's electoral unity, could return the Republicans to the White House.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE

The growth of the role of the forces of political independence is the difference in the results of the 1984 and 1986 elections. Their influence and ability to mobilize continues to develop at a rapid pace.

This is particularly true in respect to the strengthening of labor's independent political apparatus, the high level of political independence and discipline of Afro-American voters, as well as the deepening and broadening of the cooperation and coordination between the trade union movement and the racially oppressed communities.

The growing influence and strength of the forces of political independence has become a barrier to the Rightwing forces within the Democratic Party. So far, the combination of shifting mass thought patterns and

the ability to mobilize the independent forces has left the Democratic Party's Right wing without a consensus candidate.

This reflects the impact of the all-people's front against Reaganism on the struggle over direction of the Democratic Party. It also demonstrates that the center of gravity in that struggle is shifting in favor of left-of-Center positions. At the moment this is working chiefly to the benefit of the more liberal candidates.

Despite sharp differences among some of the candidates for the Democratic nomination, especially on economic issues, trade policy and the extent of willingness to challenge Reagan's foreign policy — a broad consensus on a number of pivotal issues is emerging:

- All the Democratic candidates resolutely condemn the Iran-contra conspiracy. Most see it as a threat to constitutional rule.
- All favor concluding far-reaching arms control agreements with the Soviet Union aimed at ending the nuclear arms race.
- All oppose contra aid.
- All oppose "constructive engagement" with apartheid.
- All oppose confirmation of Robert Bork as Supreme Court justice.
- All call for reversal of federal spending priorities, proposing to spend more on jobs programs, education and other social needs.
- All, including those with an anti-labor past, actively seek trade union support, all implicitly rejecting Gary Hart's divisive 1984 "special interest" charge.
- So far they have all rejected the advice of the Rightwing top Democratic Party officials.
- Despite the likelihood of a Jesse Jackson primary bid, all of the other candidates seek Afro-American support. To date none are doing so on the basis of "Jackson isn't electable" themes.

The broadly liberal-to-progressive direction of most of the Democratic candidates on many issues reflects the massive pressure from below, from the grassroots and the rank and file around the country.

This consensus reflects the tremendous pressure the forces of political independence are putting on the Democratic Party to field a nominee who can become the medium for the level of mass mobilization necessary to defeat the Republicans.

If this consensus among the candidates continues to develop, it will help create a framework favorable for the nomination and election of candidates at least partially committed to the issues. This in turn would be conducive to the nominee becoming a vehicle through which the all-people's front, the forces of political independence in particular, could wage an all-out campaign against the Reaganites on all levels of the election.

To the extent that the primaries take an anti-Reagan, all-people's unity direction; to the extent that the independent forces (regardless of which candidate they support) work to strengthen all-people's unity, mobilize around the issues and pressure the candidates to focus on policy not personality — to that extent the nominee will be compelled to wage his or her campaign along similar lines.

The all-people's unity framework of the elections, which by definition embraces regular Democrats — including not only liberals but Center and right-of-Center forces as well — does not lessen the fight for political independence or the role of the independent forces.

On the contrary, the outcome depends on the unity, mobilization and especially the initiative of the broad forces of political independence. Without their initiative and self-action the candidates, the primaries, the convention and the nominee could take a direction

that plays into the hands of the ultra-Right, undermining prospects for victory in November 1988.

HIGH STAKES

Great importance has to be attached to what happens in the Democratic primaries. The question of emerging from the primaries and the Democratic convention with all-people's unity intact, if not strengthened, is a basic challenge to all forces, especially to the broad Left crystallizing within the trade union and people's movements, as well as to our Party.

What's at stake:

- A Republican victory would give new impetus to "Reaganism without Reagan."
- A Republican victory would recharge every slimy, corrupt, anti-Communist, pro-fascist, racist, anti-union element of imperialism. The anti-democratic conspiracy could very well pick up a new head of steam.

Every Communist, every trade unionist, every peace activist, every opponent of racist and anti-Semitic violence, every voter who wants a better life, should ask him or herself a few basic questions —

If the Republicans hold the White House, are prospects for new disarmament agreements increased or decreased? Will the basis for stopping Star Wars be lessened or enhanced? Are nominations of more Robert Borks more likely or less likely? Is an escalation of the undeclared wars against Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique and Afghanistan more or less likely, including the introduction of U.S. troops in Central America?

In the struggle to preserve life on earth enormous weight rests on the shoulders of the people of the United States.

The ability of our working class and broad masses from all strata to make their contribution is linked to the level of democracy within our country. The con-

spiracy did not take over completely because of the barriers erected by the people's fightback.

Mass movements, struggles and actions on all the basic issues — trade union rights, the struggle for equality, struggle against racist and anti-Semitic violence, for jobs, against plant closings, farm foreclosures, hunger, homelessness — all flow into the struggle to maintain democracy, which is inseparable from maintaining peace. The level of democracy, defending all existing democratic rights while struggling to advance democracy, is what's at stake in 1988.

Unless the Republicans are defeated in the presidential election, it will be extremely difficult to dismantle the conspiracy.

Either outcome, a Democratic or Republican victory, underlines the importance of achieving a further shift in the political composition of the House and Senate. Such a shift will be a crucial counterweight against another ultra-Right administration. But it would also be an indispensable lever of pressure on a Democratic president to carry out campaign promises.

Eighteen Democratic and 15 Republican senators and the entire House of Representatives will be up for reelection. The dynamics are considerably different from 1986 when the Republicans had to defend twenty-two seats.

All-people's electoral unity should be geared to an all-out, coordinated effort to defeat as many ultra-Right Republicans as possible, and some Democrats.

As anti-Reagan sentiment continues to surge in response to the Iran-contra exposes, ultra-Rightists who seem unbeatable today will become increasingly vulnerable tomorrow.

This will be particularly true of the pathetic apologists and unabashed advocates of fascist conspiracy on the Senate and House select committees — Senators Orrin Hatch (Utah), James McClure (Idaho) and Paul

Tyible (Virginia); Representatives James Courter (New Jersey), Michael DeWine (Ohio), Bill McCollum (Florida), Henry Hyde (Illinois) and William Broomfield (Michigan).

OVERCOMING DIVISIONS, BUILDING UNITY

All-people's electoral unity is a slogan not only for analytical purposes, but a guide for practical initiatives.

Defeating the Republicans and the ultra-Right in the presidential election is an enormous political, organizational, tactical and financial task. It cannot be achieved by the trade unions alone, by the Afro-American people alone, or by the independent forces alone.

Winning a presidential election means winning any combination of 270 electoral votes. This includes possibly states where the trade union movement is weak, where Afro-Americans or Spanish-speaking peoples are not heavily concentrated. It means the nominee "must win" in states where labor has its strength and where the racially and nationally oppressed are heavily concentrated.

Winning requires the unity in action of all forces opposed to the Reaganite conspiracy for any reason and to any extent. It will require huge financial and organizational resources. Only a united struggle for progressive policies throughout all phases of the campaign will give the forces of political independence the leverage to influence or compel the respective candidates to accept positions supported by the all-people's front.

This approach of all-people's electoral unity demands an unprecedented mobilization by labor, the Afro-American, Mexican American and Puerto Rican communities, peace forces, the women's movement, the seniors' movement, the youth and students and other mass movements and forces. In no way is this in conflict with seeking paths of united action with liber-

als and others who associate with broad forces.

Focusing on the issues and projecting political independence is not in conflict with defeating the Reaganites, but requires tactical flexibility and a realistic appraisal of what is necessary.

The only absolute tactic is the necessity of the forces of political independence directing their fire against the ultra-Right.

The struggle to defeat the Reaganites in the presidential election, to further shift the political balance in Congress, to elect more trade unionists, women, Afro-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Pacific Americans, American Indians and to cut the number of Republicans in state legislatures, will help lay the basis for the trade union and people's movements to go over to the offensive.

The AFL-CIO's Democracy at Work project has been underway for several months. It is aimed at guaranteeing the involvement and input of the rank and file in determining the federation's endorsement. Most international and national unions have been gearing up for over a year; likewise for many central and state labor bodies. There is a broad debate within the labor movement over candidates and tactics.

Civil rights movements, groups and organizations within the respective communities of the racially and nationally oppressed, the peace movement, the women's movement, senior citizens' organizations —are all moving along parallel lines. There is considerable discussion and planning for building up the maximum impact. Resources and personnel are being mobilized for massive voter registration and education campaigns.

With the many prospects, there are also problems. Foremost is unity.

It is obvious to all realistically minded people that, in practical terms, defeating the Republican presi-

dential candidate in 1988 means electing someone on the Democratic ticket. It is equally clear that as the forces of political independence continue to grow, most will struggle through the medium of the Democratic Party in both the presidential and congressional elections.

However, the present seven — possibly eight or nine — candidates in the Democratic primaries will divide key segments of the independent forces and basic sectors of the all-people's front. This is built into the situation.

With so many candidates who have so many similarities, divisions according to candidate preference or personality are also inevitable. In fact, the Big Business media would like to reduce the whole election to personality, figuring if it sold Reagan it can sure sell a Bush or a Dole.

The divisions may be inevitable, but they are not desirable — especially since this situation will lead to multiple divisions within the specific sectors of the independent forces, between different sectors of the independent forces and between the independent forces and regular Democratic Party forces.

For example, it appears unlikely that the two-thirds consensus required for a pre-primary endorsement will be achieved by the time of the AFL-CIO convention this October. Thus, it is likely that a number of major unions will end up supporting different candidates in the primaries. This will help the more progressive candidates.

But it also means organized labor will be divided throughout the primaries, possibly diluting its resources and influence. It will also result in sections of the trade union movement being pitted against the Afro-American community, sectors of the women's movement, much of which will go with Schroeder, and the peace movement, which most likely will split

among the candidates with the strongest disarmament positions.

The maximum unity on policy, the minimum disunity over personalities, is decisive to controlling divisions in the primaries. This tactical approach will allow the independent forces to push, pull and pressure the candidates they support toward policy positions corresponding to the consensus positions of the labor movement, peace forces, the racially and nationally oppressed. It will allow them to pressure candidates also on the overall all-people's demands for action to safeguard world peace and democracy in our country.

THE JACKSON CAMPAIGN

Even though he has yet to formally declare his candidacy, Jesse Jackson's second run for the Democratic nomination is generating interest and excitement. And rightly so. He is working hard to broaden his appeal and expand his mass base, and not without success.

His focus on the issue of economic justice —plant closings, farm foreclosures, equality — is bringing him wide support among industrial workers, sections of the labor movement, farmers, as well as victims of racism and discrimination.

Jackson's '88 campaign most likely will exceed his 1984 primary achievements when he won four states, came in second in a host of others, took 61 congressional districts and received 3.5 million votes, nearly 700,000 of which came from white people. Some expect him to go to the convention with one of the largest blocs of delegates.

The Jackson campaign has all the makings of a historic achievement. It can become an unprecedented vehicle for Black-white unity, for focusing on basic issues of concern to working people, and for projecting alternative programs reflecting the changing mass thought patterns.

The more advanced of the independent forces —inside and outside of the Democratic Party — will tend to coalesce around Jackson's candidacy. His campaign will also attract large numbers of voters and activists previously inactive in electoral struggle.

The Jackson candidacy can become a prime mover and shaker helping to keep the focus on the issues and on anti-Reagan voter mobilization. By its very nature the Jackson campaign advances the struggle against racism, projects the issue of Afro-American and minority representation, progressive candidacies, labor movement-Black community unity. And Jackson's concept of a "Rainbow Coalition" that includes labor and farmers and of "a coalition of progressive Democrats" will also contribute to all-people's unity and political independence.

THE PARTY IN THE '88 ELECTIONS

While we wish the best of success for all progressive candidates, our Party does not endorse any other Party's candidates.

This 24th Convention should go on record proudly declaring the Communist Party's intention to field its own presidential ticket.

As a Party, our tactical focus is not on personalities, but working in and with the broad forces of independence. It is on pushing for policies, programs and slogans that will mobilize masses into an all-people's electoral front to defeat the Reaganites.

Our task is to be with the masses on the levels at which they are willing to fight for a meaningful alternative to Reaganism.

In the context of the elections, this calls for our Party's fullest involvement with the independent forces in the electoral arena: in the primaries; in the congressional and state legislative races; in the conventions; campaigning in the general elections; in the political

action apparatus of trade unions and other mass organizations; around legislative issues, like the Bork confirmation fight and the battle over contra aid; in voter registration and get-out-the-vote drives.

Communists should display maximum initiative in all organizations they belong to, have contact with, or help lead — trade unions; civil rights, civil liberties and senior citizens' organizations; the youth and student movement; community coalitions. We should strive to be the driving force for all-people's unity, for minimizing division, preventing diversions and provocations.

It is clear that the Party must make a major contribution in the ideological field. This means not only exposing the Reaganites, but also policies and concepts that undermine all-people's unity and the mobilization of the independent forces.

We should be especially helpful and skillful in exposing the anti-union and racist essence of notions like "labor has too much influence in the Democratic Party," or with this or that candidate. Or that Jesse Jackson "can't win," or that Pat Schroeder, Michael Dukakis or Paul Simon aren't electable — meaning for reasons of race, ethnic background, gender or religion.

The Party and *People's Daily World* should display skill and sensitivity, but remain principled in dealing with developments that work against victory on election day. Criticism should be constructively placed in this framework.

PARTY CANDIDATES

Despite all the positives and the potential in the electoral field generally, nevertheless the unique contribution of our Party to all-people's electoral unity can make the difference in many races. This includes the independent role our Party plays by way of Communist candidates.

Not even the best of the other candidates formulate

their platforms, conduct their campaigns, or respond to new and sudden developments with the benefits of Marxist-Leninist science.

It is not sectarian or conceited to say that in 1984 not even the best of candidates would or could expose the "whiff of fascism" at the Republican convention. This contribution was a service to the whole nation. Others quickly responded, forcing the Reaganites to pull in their horns for the duration of the campaign.

We can do it in '88 too. The *plus* message we get out to millions of voters through our presidential ticket can serve the whole movement, including all honest forces in the two parties and independent forces. Communist candidates will be part of, not apart from, the building of all-people's electoral unity.

The developing situation, the changing mass thought patterns, calls for the best Communist presidential election campaign ever. We should conduct the kind of campaign that continually shares the views of our candidates with the electorate. Unprecedented use must be made of the mass media. Our campaign material should be issued in the millions.

Our candidates' positions on key questions should consistently reach opinionmakers in the mass movement and the mass media. Our candidates' names and faces should become familiar to tens of millions.

The election campaign presents a unique opportunity to present our unique *plus*. This kind of campaign would multiply the efforts of the whole Party. It could extend and deepen the mass base for Party building.

But it also brings us face to face with a most difficult practical problem: the problem of how to be active on the levels on which the independent forces are concentrating, and carry out the increasingly difficult struggle to get our candidates on the ballot.

Our Party's presidential ticket was on the ballot in 23 states in 1984. However, a number of state legis-

latures have increased the number of signatures required to get on the ballot. The result is that we will have a much tougher time to match what we did in 1984. In other words, total mobilization of the Party organization on every level would be required. But if we did this it is doubtful that our Party would have the flexibility, resources and cadre available to play its full role.

The pressures of the petition drives tend to separate Party organizations and activists from full participation in the initiatives of the independent forces in the primaries. In practice, the demands of the petition drives tend to make our presidential campaign one thing and the struggle of the all-people's front another thing.

This is a moment precisely when the overall situation calls for the fullest expression of the public presence of the Party — to be unfolded as part of, not apart from, the building of all-people's electoral unity.

The Party leadership has given detailed attention to this problem and has come up with the following conclusions and guidelines:

First, we must fight to get on the ballot in as many states as possible.

Second, we must decide that we will use the mass media on levels, surpassing anything we have ever done. This will also make it possible to conduct a nationwide campaign, even if we are not able to get on the ballot in as many states as in 1984.

Third, efforts can be undertaken to conduct the campaign in every state where we have Party organization or readers of the *People's Daily World*. This must include an aggressive fight for official write-in campaigns, if necessary.

Fourth, we must elevate the legal, legislative and public relations aspects of the fight for access to the ballot. We have to point out that we and other inde-

pendent forces are in the position of facing more stringent requirements in large part because a broad, united front struggle for ballot access has not been waged during the last four years.

Fifth, a new breakthrough must be made in the mass circulation and distribution of the *People's Daily World*. Wide use of the *PDW* will enable our press to become the Party's day-to-day candidate and campaigner. We can reach thousands of movers and shakers in labor, the Afro-American community, peace movements, elected officials and activists in other campaigns, and we can reach tens of thousands of voters in practically every state and congressional district in the nation.

Sixth, the word is "Communist *candidates*," meaning that our concept of Party election campaigns must extend beyond the question of a Communist presidential ticket.

New impetus and urgency must be given to vastly increasing the number of local candidates. Running more Communists for public office is necessary, but all the more so in the context of all-people's unity.

Communist candidates can make a huge contribution to exposing Reaganite candidates for the House, Senate and especially the White House. Our Marxist-Leninist insights can help explain in the clearest terms the impact this or that policy will have on the local area.

We must especially run local Communist candidates in those states where we may not conduct petition drives. If we do this we will not lose ground as a result of not being on the ballot. Our presidential ticket may be on the ballot in fewer states, but more Communist candidates running for a wide array of offices will be on the ballot in more states.

We need flexibility and innovation in deciding what offices to run for and on which line. More Com-

munists running for public office does not mean in all cases running as Communists. Some districts and clubs may find running as independents preferable.

We should explore every possibility for applying our new electoral tactic of Communist-Left or Left-progressive electoral fronts. The chief aim of this tactic is to take account of the rapid growth of the Party's mass influence as well as the fact that most forces are still not prepared to work directly with us other than in a broader coalition context. On the other hand, the great shifts taking place in the trade union movement and among masses offer new possibilities for united candidacies, joint slates and broad-based independent campaigns, involving Communists and non-Communists.

AIMING TO WIN

In every case the Party should focus on offices it aims to win — if not in 1988, then over the course of the next few elections. Such a proposition requires a basic change in how we conduct our campaigns.

Generally, we are good on program, but come up very short on the mass organization side of running campaigns. The fact is we have now overcome the barrier that "Communists cannot be elected." Even though our candidates' votes and constituencies took a big leap in recent elections, most of us still do not think in terms of Communists actually getting elected. This is the necessary next stage in the development of Communist campaigns.

To reach this new, higher stage we must raise the level of professionalism in the use of the media, literature, posters and in fund raising. We must master campaign organization techniques to identify, mold and hold a Communist electoral constituency. We must establish an apparatus to get out the vote on election day. We must focus more on door-to-door canvassing and involving non-Party volunteers.

Our tactical focus for guiding the work of the Party in the '88 elections is designed to make it easier for all members, clubs and districts to take initiatives on all levels:

- with the basic sectors of the forces of political independence, through all phases of the elections;
- working for a further shift in the political composition of the House and especially the Senate;
- achieving a breakthrough in Communist candidates, including expanding local candidacies, and in Party-building.

Working in this way will not necessarily come easy. It will take unprecedented Party unity, mobilization and discipline. For example, focusing on all-people's electoral unity to defeat the Republicans in the presidential and congressional elections must be the basis of work of all Party organizations and members, with no exceptions. Districts that do not conduct petition drives must be prepared to give substantial help to districts that do. In other words, all Party organizations must take an active part in Party campaigns.

If the Party responds in an all-out way, there can be no doubt that we will make a unique, qualitative contribution in helping to determine the next occupant of the White House and who does or does not sit in Congress. If we respond with all cylinders running, we will make a unique contribution to turning our country around to a post-Reagan era of peace, democracy, equality and progress.

In this new situation, the Party must show boldness, flexibility, imagination, creativity, organization and discipline.

KIND OF PARTY WE MUST BE

We have to be a Party that understands and accepts the task of working with and guiding the spontaneous

mass movements that objective developments are giving rise to.

We have to be a Party that accepts class struggle as the primary point of reference, but also understands how it relates to the problems and struggles for all sections of the people.

We have to be a Party in the forefront of all the struggles for reforms, but rejecting reformism as a way of political life.

We have to be a Party that understands that the struggle against racism is a special task for a workingclass Party and that it also has to be a part of all struggles, especially those related to the class struggle.

We have to be a Party that takes a principled stand against imperialism and accepts as its acid test the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

We have to be a Party that understands the dialectical relationship between fighting for a better life under capitalism and the struggle for socialism.

We have to be a Party that does not opportunistically succumb to the ideological pressures of Big Business, a Party that sees slander of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as basically a slander of the working class and of socialism in general.

We have to be a Party that understands and accepts the science of Marxism-Leninism and that continues to develop it as a guide and a methodology for its work.

We have to be a Party that is democratic, but with a structure through which it can come to policy and tactical conclusions.

We have to be a Party that merges the workingclass movement with socialism, a union of the movement of the present with the fight for the future. This means giving a class struggle content to all struggles for partial demands and reforms. It means making the con-

nection between the present struggles and the future.

If we agree this is what the Party must be all about, then we have to say that building Party consciousness has to become a way of life.

And from this we have to conclude that Communists cannot do poor Party work while doing "good" trade union work, "good" shop work or "good" mass work of any kind. What you do to prepare workers and people for struggle, demonstrations and strikes should also prepare them for the Party.

Adding our unique Communist *plus* makes it possible to be a good Communist trade union leader, a good Communist leader in the struggle against racism, a good Communist leader in the struggle for peace.

And, finally, the tactical response to the new crises and conditions that are ripe for solutions is unity — united workingclass front, all-people's unity —and, most important, unity in action. The password to victory of the people's and workingclass majority is *unity*.

An Invitation

We invite you to send us your comments about this pamphlet, and we would be happy to answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more about the Communist Party and what we stand for, please write to us or call at:

Communist Party, USA
235 West 23rd Street
New York, NY 10011
212-989-4994

About the author

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, was born on the Mesaba Iron Ore Range in Minnesota. Hall went to work early in the mines and logging camps, and joined the Communist Party when he was 17. He became a steelworker and was a founding organizer of the United Steelworkers of America, leading the Little Steel Strike in Warren, Ohio in 1937.

Hall left his job with the union to become an organizer for the Communist Party. During World War II, Hall served in the U.S. Navy. He was among the leaders of the Communist Party who were arrested and tried under the Smith Act in 1949, and served eight years in Leavenworth Prison for the "crime of thinking Marxist-Leninist ideas."

Hall was elected General Secretary in 1959, and has been reelected to that post since. As author of several books, speaking on radio and TV shows, and while campaigning in several elections, he has brought the ideas of the Communist Party to millions of people across the United States.

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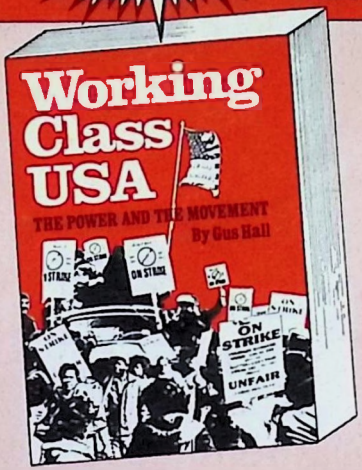

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